

THIRTY-SEVENTH

# ANNUAL REPORT

8959-

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;

AND THE ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 17, 1854.

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Decease of Vice Presidents of the Society.

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This day we celebrate the Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. We render thanksgiving to our Father in Heaven for the abundant blessings received, and we supplicate a continuance of His gracious care. Pre-eminently His, and for the advancement of His kingdom on earth, is the cause in which we are engaged. Whatever of good it has already accomplished, is the result of His controlling Spirit; and all its capacity for enlarged achievement in coming time gives promise that His almighty arm will carry it forward through every obstacle, to a triumph more splendid than we should otherwise dare to anticipate.

Since the last annual meeting, several of our earliest and ablest friends and patrons have rested from their labors.

The Hon. Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, Ohio, departed this life the 27th April last. He was elected a *vice president* of this Society in the year 1836. He was a liberal annual contributor to its funds, and left it a handsome legacy at his death.

The Hon. Simon Greenleaf of Cambridge Mass., who was elected a vice president in the year 1848, and was one of its ablest advocates, died beloved and greatly lamented, the 5th of October, 1853.

Anson G. Phelps, Esq., for many years the President of the New York State Colonization Society, and a vice president of this Society since the year 1844, closed his earthly labors the 30th of November last. He was a large contributor to the funds of this Society; and as one of its Life Directors, was always present at its meetings.

He was eminently and emphatically the friend of the colored man, both in this country and in Africa. He left a legacy of \$5,000 to the New York State Colonization Society, to be paid in ten annual instalments of \$500 each; and a *conditional* bequest of \$50,000 towards founding a theological department of a college in Liberia, as appears in item seventeen of his will which reads as follows:

Seventeenth.—It has been contemplated by the friends of African Colonization to erect and found a college in Liberia, Africa; and it is understood that some incipient steps have been taken for that purpose by its friends in Boston, Massachusetts. Now in case the enterprise, which I consider an important one, shall proceed, and \$100,000 shall be raised for that purpose in this country, then, and in such case, I give to my executors the sum of \$50,000, to be applied by them in such way as shall, in their judgment, best effect the object; and I wish my executors especially to have in view the establishment of a theological department in said college, to be under the

## Receipts of the Society, general and special.

supervision of the Union Theological Seminary of the city of New York.

The Rev. James Laurie, D. D., of this city, died on the 18th April last. He was elected a Vice President of this Society in 1838. He was an intelligent and faithful friend from its origin, and for many years was one of the most punctual and earnest members of its Board of Managers. Incapable of fear, and constant in duty, he stood firm by the cause in its darkest and most trying times, and never doubted its final triumph.

In addition to these four vice presidents, we have also to mourn the loss of many of our liberal annual contributors, on whom we always relied for help to meet our current expenses, and carry forward our great enterprise. From some of them, who had the means, we have received handsome bequests. Some of them made bequests to the Society, which have not been, as yet, and we fear never will be, received. Legal difficulties have been thrown in the way of the execution of their wills. It is melancholy to reflect how many good intentions and liberal purposes are entirely frustrated by being transferred for execution from the heart and soul in which they originated, to the hands of executors and administrators, too often controlled by distant and unscrupulous heirs! If this Society could at once obtain possession of all the legacies to which it is justly entitled, but which are kept from it by legal quibbles and endless lawsuits, it would be able at once to make all the necessary improvements in Liberia, and build a first class steamer to run as a regular transport vessel!

The receipts of the Society for the past year, from all sources, were *eighty-two thousand four hundred and fifty-eight dollars and twenty-five cents*.

This general amount, however, includes

many items which contributed nothing to aid in carrying on the direct work of colonization during the year. For example, five thousand dollars of it were received from the legacy of the late Augustus Graham, of New York, and by his will we are required to invest the money in some safe and profitable manner, and devote the interest arising from it to the "support and establishment of Schools" in Liberia.

Three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight dollars and ninety-four cents, had been received by the Massachusetts Colonization Society during the past three years, and expended by them in defraying the expenses of educating two colored young men in Boston, to prepare them for physicians in Liberia. This amount had never before been reported to us, and therefore it all appears in the accounts of the past year.

The New York State Colonization Society appropriated one thousand dollars to the government of Liberia, toward the expenses of the expedition against the native Chief Boombo; and they reported the amount to us, as a part of their contribution to the cause for the current year.

In several instances, bequests have been made to the Society for the special use and benefit of the slaves liberated by will, in such manner that we were obliged to pay them the money when they had embarked for Liberia, or to purchase with it such articles as were indispensable to their outfit; but we were not allowed to use any of it for the expenses of their passage to, and support six months in, Liberia. In other cases, moneys have been committed to our charge by the donors or executors to be forwarded to their friends, or persons to whom it belonged in Liberia. From these sources there came into our treasury the past year, three thousand three hundred and eighty-six dollars and fifty-six cents.

Receipts from the several States.—Expeditions by *Banshee*, *Shirley*, and *Adeline*.

There have also been received into the treasury on account of subscriptions to the African Repository, fifteen hundred and twenty-seven dollars and eighteen cents, which has been expended in defraying the expenses of its publication.

There have been received from the Indiana State Treasury *thirteen hundred and seventy dollars more* than we have expended in sending out emigrants from that State. It was anticipated that the whole amount would have been used. But two families who were preparing to emigrate last fall, failed to get ready in time. This amount therefore is held subject to the expenses of the next company from that State.

The several States rank in the following order as to the amount of funds received from all sources within their borders, including payments on account of the Repository, expenditures reported by State Auxiliary Societies on account of emigrants, &c. &c.

1. New York.....	\$10,735	43
2. Virginia.....	10,628	72
3. Mississippi.....	6,731	25
4. Connecticut.....	6,584	17
5. Massachusetts.....	6,269	30
6. Vermont.....	4,853	75
7. Maryland.....	4,588	40
8. Pennsylvania.....	4,082	12
9. Kentucky.....	3,957	25
10. Georgia.....	3,797	86
11. Ohio.....	3,200	33
12. Tennessee.....	2,966	16
13. North Carolina.....	2,394	18
14. Rhode Island.....	2,270	47
15. Indiana.....	1,733	03
16. Louisiana.....	1,458	23
17. District of Columbia.....	1,014	67
18. Maine.....	997	12
19. Alabama.....	828	50
20. Delaware.....	608	54
21. New Jersey.....	437	12
22. Illinois.....	297	99
23. Missouri.....	132	00
24. Florida.....	103	00
25. New Hampshire.....	84	30
26. California.....	30	00
27. South Carolina.....	12	00
28. Michigan.....	10	00
29. Texas.....	8	00
30. Wisconsin.....	6	00

In the general aggregate are also included the following amounts from foreign countries, viz :

Syria.....	\$25	00
Choctaw Nation.....	21	25
New Brunswick.....	11	00
Constantinople (Turkey).....	10	00
England.....	2	50

The following expeditions have been sent to Liberia since our last annual meeting.

The ship *Banshee* sailed from Norfolk the 30th of April, with *one hundred and sixty-one* emigrants. Fifty-seven of these were born free, sixteen purchased their freedom or were purchased by their friends. Ninety were emancipated, sixteen by will of Wm. Smart, of Gloucester county, Va; thirty-six by will of Miss Betsey Gordon of Orange county, Va.; eleven by Mrs. Anne S. Rice, of Prince Edward county, Va., and seventeen by will of Dr. William Andres, of Bladen county, N. C., and ten by different persons.

The second company sailed from Baltimore the 2nd of June, in the *Shirley*, consisting of *eleven persons*, of whom six from Portsmouth, Va., were born free, and five were emancipated by Mrs. Nancy Jennings, of Kemper county, Miss. These persons expected to have sailed in the *Banshee*, but failed to be ready in time.

The third company sailed from Savannah, Geo., the 11th of June, in the barque *Adeline*, composed of *one hundred and thirty-four persons*, of whom ninety-six were from Tennessee, and thirty-eight from Georgia. Forty-four of them were born free; ten were purchased by themselves and their friends; twenty-nine were emancipated by will of Solomon Green of Kingston, Tenn.—fifteen by Samuel Grigsby, of Macon county, Tenn.—and ten by will of Thomas W. Rice, of Savannah, Geo.—and the others by several different persons. This company were all landed at Sinou, and located in that county, and

## Expeditions by Isla de Cuba, and Banshee.

at our last advices were prospering remarkably well. Speaking of them, our agent under date of September 5th, says: "Most of them have had the fever. I treat them kindly, keep them in a good humor, and have succeeded in persuading some that the fever is the handmaid of health. It is pleasing to see how much work some of them have done. With a good, sound constitution, the African fever is not difficult of treatment. Old, partially cured diseases, brought from the United States, give the most trouble to physicians. Only two of the company have died."

It is worthy of remark that this company passed the season of their acclimation without the attendance of a regular physician. This resulted in consequence of the death of Dr. JAMES BROWN, about the middle of August, who had for several years attended all the emigrants located in that county. His loss is greatly felt. After his death, Mr. Murray was compelled to act both as physician and agent, and great credit is due him for the faithful manner in which he discharged his responsible duties, and for the gratifying success which crowned his labors. We hope to send a thoroughly educated physician to that county with our spring expedition.

The fourth company sailed from New York, the 10th November, in the barque Isla de Cuba, consisting of *fifty-three* emigrants, of whom thirty two were from Pennsylvania—one from New Jersey—four from Connecticut, and sixteen from N. York.

The New York State Colonization Society fitted out this expedition, and paid the expenses of those from that state. The expenses of those from the other states were paid by the respective State Societies. The company from Pennsylvania took with them a steam saw-mill, which they intend to locate in Mesurado county. One of those from Connecticut was an ex-

cellent daguerreotypist, and we expect to hear from him in some interesting views of scenery in Liberia.

The fifth company sailed from Norfolk, the 11th November, in the ship Banshee, consisting of *two hundred and sixty-one* persons, sent by this Society, and *sixteen* by the Maryland Society. One hundred and fifty-four were from Virginia; four from North Carolina; twenty-four from Maryland; twenty-six from Indiana; and sixty-nine from Kentucky. Of those sent by this Society, eighty-eight were born free; ten purchased their freedom or were purchased by others, of whom, six were purchased with funds raised by Miss Elizabeth Wormley, of Newport, R.I., amounting to twenty-three hundred dollars.

We received from the treasury of the state of Indiana fifty dollars for each of the twenty-six from that state. Out of this amount however we had to pay three hundred and eighty-eight dollars and seventy cents, to defray the expenses of their passage from Indiana to Baltimore. It costs us sixty dollars for each one from Baltimore to Liberia, and for six months support after their arrival. The amount received from the State Treasury, therefore, will not defray the expenses of their emigrants, by six hundred and forty-eight dollars and seventy cents.

From the Virginia State Treasury we have received thirty-four hundred dollars, being fifty dollars each for sixty-eight of the one hundred and fifty-four emigrants sent from that state in this expedition.

We also received from the Virginia State Treasury *thirty-four hundred dollars*, for *sixty-eight* of the *eighty-seven* emigrants from that State sent in the April and June expeditions.

There were several others in these two companies who were free, and will be entitled to the benefit of the State appropri-

## Expedition by the General Pierce.—Interesting family.

ation, if we can succeed in obtaining and laying before the Colonization Board of the State sufficient and satisfactory evidence of their freedom.

The sixth and last expedition sailed from Savannah, the 16th December, in the brig Gen. Pierce, composed of *one hundred and sixty-three* emigrants from South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Twenty-one of them were born free; sixteen were liberated by will, and one hundred and twenty-six by masters now living, viz: fifty by Richard Hoff, Esq., of Oglethorpe county, Georgia, who paid three thousand dollars for their passage and support six months in Liberia, and gave them about twenty-five hundred dollars at their embarkation; twenty-nine of them by the Hon. Will. E. Kennedy of Columbia, Tenn., who sent twenty-six in the expedition from New Orleans, in Dec. 1852; and thirty-eight by Montgomery Bell, Esq., of Nashville, Tenn., who gave them a good outfit, paid all their expenses to the place of embarkation, and gave us two thousand dollars towards the expenses of their colonization. This was a most interesting and extraordinary company, consisting of a man and his wife and thirty-six children and grand children. Mr. Bell has a large number more, of whom he wants to send, in our next expedition, about eighty, and he is willing to give them a good outfit, pay their expenses to the place of sailing, and one-half the amount necessary to transport them to Liberia, and support them six months! These are the "Iron men" of Tennessee. Mr. Bell has long been known as one of the largest manufacturers of iron, and his slaves have been his only workmen. They thoroughly understand the business. Among them are miners, colliers, moulders, and men fully competent to build furnaces for making iron, and to carry on the business themselves. They are also

men of high moral character, which would render them an acquisition to any country. Thomas Scott, the patriarch of the family, who sailed in the Gen. Pierce, helped to make the cannon balls that were fired from behind the cotton bales at the battle of New Orleans; and is yet a man of great activity and energy of character.

If we are not entirely mistaken, in our calculations, this family of Mr. Bell's will be an element in Liberia's history and operations, of the most valuable character. We have been assured that iron ore is to be found there in great abundance, and of remarkable purity. The Hon. S. A. Benson, of Bassa county, in a letter dated the 10th Sept., and received since the Gen. Pierce sailed, says: "I send you (by the Shirley,) a small specimen of iron ore from the mountains (which lie about thirty miles from the coast.) Depend upon it, it is virgin ore—the blacksmith merely heated it to enable him to cut it. One of our blacksmiths, Rev. A. P. Davis, declares it not only malleable, but at least 20 per cent. better than the foreign trade iron brought to this coast. Mr. Davis has tried it, and in its virgin state, beaten it out and made good cutlery. The mountains of our interior are filled with it."

Such is the field open before these people, who without doubt will one day become the "iron men" of Liberia! We propose to send a vessel with emigrants from New Orleans, the 1st of April. We are anxious to send Mr. Bell's *eighty* at that time, as they are nearly ready to depart, and we are now looking out for some generous friend to give us the twenty-four hundred dollars to defray the one-half their expenses. This amount Mr. Bell proposes to give, together with the people! And we believe that some noble-hearted individual, on whom Heaven has bestowed the ability, will rejoice to stand beside him,

## Number and description of emigrants from the several States.

and share the glory of a work so grand as this.\*

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that we have sent during the year, *seven hundred and eighty-three* emigrants to Liberia, being one hundred and seventeen more than were sent the preceding year. The table in the next column will exhibit the leading facts in a condensed form.

The STATES rank, as to the number of emigrants sent from each, in the following order:

1. Virginia.....	241
2. Tennessee.....	181
3. Georgia.....	93
4. Kentucky.....	74
5. North Carolina.....	56
6. Pennsylvania.....	35
7. Indiana.....	32
8. New York.....	17
9. Alabama.....	16
10. Maryland.....	8
11. South Carolina.....	7
12. Massachusetts.....	6
13. Mississippi.....	5
14. Choctaw Nation.....	5
15. Connecticut.....	4
16. Ohio.....	2
17. New Jersey.....	1

On their arrival in Liberia, these seven hundred and eighty-three emigrants have been pretty equally distributed between the three counties, Mesurado, Bassa, and Sinou. At the date of our last advices they were prospering encouragingly, having become contented and happy citizens of Liberia.

The larger part of those who went to Bassa County were located at the new settlement, at the "Cove," near the site of the old native village which was called "Fishtown." This is considered one of the most important points on the coast. The anchorage for vessels is good, and boats can reach the shore and land, without the necessity of crossing the bar. Our former attempt to make a location here, was frustrated, by the Grande war-the natives

WHERE FROM.																									WHERE LOCATED IN LIBERIA.		
No.	Vessel.	Port of departure.	Time of sailing.	Born Free.	Emancipated.	Purchased.	Mass.	Conn.	N. Y.	N. J.	Pa.	Md.	Va.	N. C.	S. C.	Geo.	Ala.	Miss.	Tenn.	Ky.	Ohio.	Ind.	Choc. Nation	Mesurado.	Bassa.	Sinon.	TOTAL.
1	Banisher,	Norfolk.	29 Apr.	57	90	14	6	-	1	-	3	-	81	52	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	6	5	23	138	-	161
2	Shirley,	Baltimore.	2 June.	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	111
3	Adeline,	Savannah.	11 June.	44	83	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	1	-	96	-	-	-	-	-	-	134	134
4	Isla de Cuba,	New York.	10 Nov.	53	-	-	-	4	16	1	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	-	-	53
5	Banisher,	Norfolk.	11 Nov.	88	163	10	-	-	-	-	-	8	151	4	-	-	-	-	-	69	-	96	-	261	-	-	261
6	Gen. Pierce,	Savannah.	16 Dec.	91	142	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	56	15	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	163	163
				369	480	34	6	4	17	1	35	8	241	56	7	93	16	5	161	74	2	32	5	248	138	297	783

WHERE FROM.

WHERE LOCATED  
IN LIBERIA.

\*We are happy to state, that the morning after this report, was read at the Annual Meeting, the Hon. William Appleton informed us that he would be happy to give us the \$3,400 00

## Improvements in Liberia.—Prospects of the Republic.—Commerce.

having burnt our houses and driven away our settlers. The present effort has, we are happy to say, been more successful. The natives have all been entirely inoffensive, and many of them very friendly. A number of the old inhabitants of the country, induced by its advantages for all commercial enterprises, have removed to and taken up their permanent residence in this place. Our agent, Mr. Benson, has exerted himself to the utmost, to provide comfortable accommodations for the newly arrived emigrants. The saw mill is doing a good business. Improvement is manifest all around. Bishop Payne of Cape Palmas, has lately visited Bassa county to make arrangements for a missionary station of the Episcopal Church. He expressed himself delighted with the general appearance of the settlements, and he has determined to make the new settlement the head-quarters of their operations, and has selected a lot in the village and made arrangements for erecting a suitable building upon it. This movement will be a great benefit to that county, and should and will be encouraged in every possible manner.

Liberia has now a civilized population of about *ten thousand*, and a native population of upwards of two hundred thousand. The field for missionary labor is extremely promising, and all well directed efforts will reap a bountiful harvest.

In Sinou county, increased attention has been given to the cultivation of the soil, and particularly to planting coffee trees. Many new and substantial buildings have been erected, and a general spirit of enterprise prevails.

In Mesurado county there has been much improvement. Many brick houses have been erected in the various settlements.

The entire history of Liberia for the past year has been such as should encour-

age us to push forward in the work of Colonization. Peace has prevailed between the Government and the native tribes. The churches have been well attended. The number of schools has been increased, and the means of doing good extended.

"The great law of progress," as Bishop Scott in his late report of his visit to Liberia says, "is not entirely dormant in Liberia. She is advancing in most, I think I may say, in all respects. Liberia as it is, is not exactly the same thing it was at any period you may select in its past history. Her course is onward. Even the 'Sketches of Liberia,' so truthful and reliable in its details, that every one, who wishes to know what Liberia is, ought to read it with careful attention, nevertheless needs an appendix to adjust it to the present state of the country. Their course is onward, and their future is becoming day by day more and more hopeful. Their triumph thus far over extraordinary difficulties insures the promise that the difficulties yet remaining will in time be overcome, and that Liberia will yet stand forth rich in all the elements of a great nation."

Commander Lynch, to whom allusion was made in our last Annual Report, visited Liberia and having spent some time on the Coast, returned to the United States, well pleased with what he saw, and has prepared a report for the Navy Department, which has been sent into Congress, and will shortly be published.

The commerce with Liberia is increasing. The fact has been clearly demonstrated that this Young Republic, weak and feeble though it now is, will hereafter direct and control to a vast extent the commerce of the Western Coast of Africa. The natural wealth and the commercial resources of that immense tract of country lying interior of Liberia will find their



## Commercial enterprise in Liberia.—British Steamers.

way out through her ports. As the natives rise in the scale of being and appreciate the blessings, and feel the wants consequent upon civilization, they will through the same channel obtain the products of other countries, and the manufactured articles indispensable to their comfort. So that it is quite evident that whatever the foreign commerce of Western Africa may be, Liberia will control it. Her position on the Coast, and her relations with foreign nations, necessarily confer upon her this advantage. The independence of Liberia having been formally, honorably acknowledged by five of the leading Governments of the world, England, France, Prussia, Belgium and Brazil, she is fairly entitled and has the power to form treaties and establish international relations which shall regulate the trade between her vast interior and the markets of the world.

Already has this state of things, this field for commercial enterprise, attracted the attention of England. She has established a monthly line of steamers, which touch at Liberia. She has four Steamships on the line, the *Forerunner* of 400 tons, the *Faith*, of 900 tons, *Hope*, of 900 tons, and *Charity*, of 1,000 tons. These names are appropriate and significant! The following extracts from a letter just received from *Commander Rudd*, U S N., dated *Frigate Constitution*, August 20, 1853, off *Monrovia*, will show that these steamers are doing a heavy business: "I inclose you a paper giving the route of the English steamers on this Coast. They are doing a first rate business, running full of freight both ways, and of course cutting up our trade very much, and I believe in two years they will get all of it! Steam is the only thing on this Coast. Sail vessels are far behind the age."

Another line of British Steamers is about to be started, or has already been started

from Liverpool. The first vessel was to sail in October last. This new line is owned by private individuals, and is entirely independent of the Government.

The English Government, with a wise reference to the extension of her commerce on that Coast, admits camwood and Palm oil and its other great staple commodities, free of duty.—Consequently the English trader can always give a higher price for them than the American can! The Liberia merchant can order by the British steamers whatever goods he wants from London and Liverpool, and have them in his store in six or eight weeks after the order is issued;—while to obtain the like goods from any American port, requires about the same number of months!

Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that *British* commerce is increasing on that coast with unexampled rapidity, and that *American* commerce has to struggle hard—even to maintain its present limited existence!

England may be bold, she may be grasping and vigilant in her efforts to spread her commerce abroad over the face of the whole earth! Who can blame her. Is it not well that she should extend civilized customs of trade and christian commerce along that coast once covered with nothing but the barbarous traffic in human blood? There is a tremendous moral power in commerce, which tends to lift up the fallen, to tame the savage, and civilize and humanize the barbarous. Liberia has on her hands, in this respect, a work so mighty as to demand from other nations all possible encouragement and assistance!

For many years she struggled for a mere existence, surrounded by savage enemies, without the power or means to regulate commerce—at length, but tremblingly, she became, and declared herself to be, an independent nation. England nobly came forward with the courtesies of recognition,

## Interest of the United States in the recognition of the independence of Liberia.

and welcomed her into the family of nations! France soon followed—then Prussia, Belgium, and Brazil! England and France have, from time to time, complimented her in the most marked and distinguished manner!

And yet the harbors and ports of Liberia for a distance of some seven hundred miles along the coast are open *alike* to British steamers, French merchantmen, and American traders. Her palm oil, her camwood, her coffee, and her spices, and all the rich productions of her sunny clime, she is ready to exchange for the products and manufactures of all other countries on *equal terms*. Thus far Liberia has shown no favoritism—has exercised no selfish partiality. Her treaties of commerce with England and France give them no advantage whatever over the United States of America! In all the commercial relations into which Liberia has entered thus far, she has kept the field wide open to all, giving peculiar advantages to none. This surely is all that the United States can ask, or that we had a right to expect. But suppose now that those nations which have acknowledged her independence, should endeavor to obtain for themselves the privilege of introducing their manufactured articles *free of duty*, and the exclusive right to trade in camwood and palm oil, who else could complain? If any other governments have neglected to improve the opportunities which the existence of Liberia has presented to them, is there not ground to apprehend that they may be ultimately deprived of advantages which they might otherwise have secured?

Liberia is in a certain sense the child of the United States. Its origin and history are unlike those of any other government on the face of the earth. Humanity and benevolence underlie it as a broad

and firm foundation. It was undertaken in christian charity, having in view the relief and elevation of a race who were outcasts from government and country.—By private contributions means were provided, in our own country, to take from among us those who had neither social nor political relations, transport them to the land of their fathers, plant and nurture them there, until they should develop nerve and skill enough to perform all the functions of self-government in a manner adequate to their necessities and creditable among the nations. This great work was accomplished in the most quiet and peaceful way. No man's rights were molested; no governmental prerogatives were interfered with, and no violence was done to the welfare of society. Private enterprise, supported by christian charity, began and completed the great endeavor! And there Liberia stands, and has stood for the last six years, a free and independent Republic—a bright gem set upon the dark ground of a vast continent—with some two hundred thousand citizens—exercising an undisputed dominion over some seven hundred miles of sea-coast, extending a considerable distance interior—under a republican form of government—with a written constitution similar in many respects to our own; the first and the only free government upon the continent of Africa.

Thus situated, she asks, with all dignity and respect, a recognition at the hands of the United States Government. She acknowledges with gratitude her obligations to the benevolent regards of our citizens, through whom she obtained a fair field for self-exertion, in which she might develop her own native powers. She is ready to extend to us all the advantages of trade which she can legally bestow. To secure these advantages, we must put ourselves

## Increased facilities for emigration necessary.

in a right position ;—we must form commercial relations with her ; we must protect our commerce on that coast, and find a market there for some of our staple productions and many of our manufactures. In order to achieve this important result, the first step is to acknowledge the nationality of Liberia and extend to her our official approbation.

It is not as a mere matter of form, for self-gratulation, or from a vain conceit, that Liberia desires thus to be recognized. The moral effect of such recognition would be of immense advantage to her. The public expression of our approbation of her endeavor to maintain a republican government in Africa, of our confidence in her strength and our faith in her ability to do it, would greatly benefit her in all her commercial and national relations. It would more than any thing else operate upon the free colored people in our country, and induce them to seek there a home and a nationality for themselves and their children. Let them know by this act of our government that the country, to which we desire them to emigrate, has an honorable name and an acknowledged place among the most favored nations, that the institutions of that country are respected by the great powers of the earth—that its welfare is desired—that its commerce is valuable and sought after—that its productions are rich and abundant—that money may be made there and fortunes accumulated—and social and public position be honorably obtained—then will they begin to appreciate their true interest ; and so sure as the magnet turns to the pole, will they turn their faces to that land of promise ! Then will brighter prospects and broader prosperity open before Liberia. Then will she gain new strength of head and heart, and of all the means and appliances of civilization and christianity, which will enable her

to strike forward in the career of splendid achievement to which she is consecrated !

We would therefore call upon all who love and long for the spread of civilization and the triumph of christianity—and who study the peace and seek the enlarged prosperity of our own beloved country, to open their eyes and behold the indications of Providence, and extend to this enterprise a helping hand, and all necessary practical co-operation !

The present resources of the Society are entirely inadequate to the work on hand. The time has now arrived, when extensive improvements must be made, for the more comfortable accommodation of our newly arrived emigrants in Liberia. Our present house-room for them for the six months of their acclimation is insufficient. When we sent out four or five hundred a year, it was adequate—but now when we are urged to send a thousand or twelve hundred, it is not.

To accommodate the increasing numbers who desire to emigrate, enlarged resources and increased facilities are demanded. The present high price of provisions, is a strong argument in favor of making quick voyages. But with the best of sailing vessels we cannot reasonably calculate upon landing our emigrants in Liberia in less than thirty-five days, as an average. Why then should not one vigorous effort be made to place at the control of the Society a first class *steamer*, built for the purpose, capable of carrying both freight and emigrants and of making four voyages a year ? The establishment of such a line of communication with Liberia would mark an era in the history of colonization, and would cause such a tide of emigration, as would astonish the world. Can such a line be established ? This is a grand and practical question. We believe that it can, and that the time will shortly come, if it is not already at hand, when it must

## Plans suggested for steamship communication with Liberia.

be. Our plan of operations is very simple, and we believe, entirely legitimate. Let the United States Government give to this Society a *mail contract*, to carry the mail four times a year from the United States to Liberia and back again, on the same generous terms which are allowed for carrying it to other parts of the world! Then by one grand effort among the wealthy and devoted friends of colonization all over the country, we can raise the means to build and equip a steamship, suited in all and every respect for this peculiar service.

Apart from this, we can see but one other plan which is feasible. That is, for the Secretary of the Navy to be authorized to detail a Government Steamer for this service, and let her make four voyages a year, carrying the United States mail, and affording room for such emigrants as the Society may desire to send to Liberia; the Society to find them on the passage, so that the Government would incur no other expense than is necessary to keep the vessel afloat, in any other service!

If one of these plans were adopted, most of the State governments, which have not already done it, would soon make appropriations sufficient to defray the expenses of colonizing their own free colored population. Then would the work move onward in a manner somewhat correspondent with its magnitude!

But aside from these two schemes, we are unable to discover any means, at present, of establishing a regular steamship communication. Private enterprise was inadequate to establish the first line of British steamers to Africa, without some aid from government. The same difficulty was felt in opening all the lines of steamships which are now extending our commerce and spreading the glory of the country over every sea! The aid and encouragement of the government set them afloat.— If this same assistance is to be granted to

anybody to enable them to open steam communication with Africa, it seems but right and fair that it should be granted to *this Society*, in preference to any private individual or incorporated company.— This Society has labored long and faithfully to plant the foundations of government and sow the seeds of commerce on that coast. With what success she has labored let facts and a candid world decide. If by her efforts in this direction she has brought honor and advantage to the nation; if she has opened new sources of wealth to our citizens, and new fields for the extension and increase of American commerce, then surely she is entitled to any collateral advantages which it may be in the power of our government to bestow, while prosecuting her own legitimate enterprises in that direction. If any advantage is to accrue to anybody for carrying the United States mails to Liberia, this Society is by all fair and honorable considerations entitled to it, to enable it to carry on the work of colonization with increased vigor.

Here then for the present we leave the subject. And here we are content to leave it. It is possible we are too sanguine in our hopes in respect to the aid and encouragement expected from our Government. It may be, that we shall still be called upon to labor and struggle on in the same quiet, unpretending way to which we have become so accustomed. In that case, we shall not despond, but the rather thank God, and take courage. Ethiopia shall yet be glorious in prosperity and her sons and her daughters happy and independent. On those fertile plains, along those gentle streams, and among those golden sands, the children of Africa shall yet stand up disenthralled and christianized, and sing their christian jubilee! Then shall it be seen that our labor has not been in vain—that our patience and perseverance have met their large reward.

**Proceedings at the 37th Anniversary Meeting of the A. C. S.**

The American Colonization Society met according to adjournment, Tuesday evening, the 17th January, 1854, at 7 o'clock, in Trinity Church, Washington City.

J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., President, presided.

Rev. Dr. L. P. W. Baich, opened the meeting with prayer.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read by the Secretary.

Addresses were delivered by the President of the Society, and the Hon. James M. Wayne of the United States Supreme Court; after which, the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Rooms tomorrow, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

**COLONIZATION ROOMS,**

January 18, 1854.

The Society met according to adjournment. The President in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

The Annual Report was presented by the Secretary, and was referred to the Board of Directors.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq., was unanimously re-elected President of the Society.

Rev. Messrs. Maclean, Pinney, Finley, and Pease were appointed a Committee to nominate Vice Presidents. After consultation they reported the following gentlemen, who were duly elected, viz :

**VICE PRESIDENTS.**

(First elected in 1819.)

1. Gen. John H. Cocke, of Virginia.

(First elected in 1823.)

2. Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Va.
3. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Conn.

(First elected in 1830.)

4. Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, of N. J.

(First elected in 1832.)

5. Hon. Louis McLean, of Maryland.

(First elected in 1833.)

6. Moses Allen, Esq., of New York.
7. Gen. Walter Jones, of Dis. of Col
8. Joseph Gales, Esq., do

(First elected in 1834.)

9. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D. of Va.

(First elected in 1835.)

10. Rev. James O. Andrew, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
11. William Maxwell, Esq. of Virginia.

(First elected in 1836.)

12. Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio,
13. Hon. Walter Lowrie, of New York
14. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.

(First elected in 1838.)

15. Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia,
16. Rev. William Winans, D. D. of Miss.
17. James Boorman, Esq., of N. Y.
18. Henry A. Foster, Esq., of do.
19. Robert Campbell, Esq., of Georgia.
20. Hon. Peter D. Vroom, of N. J.
21. Hon. James Garland, of Virginia.

(First elected in 1840.)

22. Hon. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
23. Rt. Rev. Wm. M. Otey, of Tenn.
24. Gerard Ralston, Esq., of England.
25. Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, D. D. of N. J.

(First elected in 1841.)

26. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D. of England.
27. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
28. Thomas R. Hazard, Esq., of R. I.
29. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Va.

(First elected in 1842.)

30. Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.

(First elected in 1843.)

31. Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
32. James Raily, Esq., of Miss.
33. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D. of N. Y.

(First elected in 1844.)

34. Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Penn.
35. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D. of Mass.
36. Rev. Beverly Waugh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Epis. Church.

(First elected in 1845.)

37. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D. of S. C.
38. Moses Sheppard, Esq., of Md.
39. Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D. of D.
40. Rev. J. T. Edgar, D. D., of Tenn.
41. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Ind.
42. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Ky.

## Vice Presidents.—Handsome donation.

*(First elected in 1847.)*

43. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
44. Hon. H. L. Lumpkin, of Geo.
45. James Lenox, Esq., of N. Y.

*(First elected in 1848.)*

46. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
47. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.
48. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
49. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.

*(First elected in 1849.)*

50. Rev. John Early, D. D. of Virginia.
51. Rev. Lovick Pierce D. D., of Ga.
52. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Miss.

*(First elected in 1850.)*

53. Samuel Gurney, Esq., of England.
54. Charles McMicken, Esq., of Ohio.
55. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.

*(First elected in 1851.)*

56. Hon. Charles M. Conrad, of La.
57. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Va.
58. Hon. Fred. P. Stanton, of Tenn.

*(First elected in 1852.)*

59. Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D., of N. Y.
60. John Beveridge, Esq. do.
61. Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.
62. Hon. Robert F. Stockton, of N. J.
63. Hon. Henry W. Collier, of Ala.

*(First elected in 1853.)*

64. Hon. Edward Everett, of Mass.
65. Hon. Washington Hunt, of N. Y.
66. Hon. Horatio S. Seymour, do
67. Hon. Joseph A. Wright, of Ind.
68. Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, of N. J.
69. Hon. George F. Fort, of New Jersey
70. Gen. John S. Dorsey, do
71. Hon. Ralph J. Ingersoll, of Conn.
72. Benjamin Silliman, LL. D. do.
73. Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Penn.
74. Hon. Edward Coles, do.
75. Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., do.
76. Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., do.
77. Edward McGehee, Esq., of Miss.
78. Thomas Henderson, Esq., do
79. Daniel Turnbull, Esq., of La.
80. Hon. Thos. H. Seymour, of Conn.
81. Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio.

*(First elected in 1854.)*

82. Rev. O. C. Baker, of N. H., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
83. Hon. William Appleton, of Mass.
84. Hon. Abbot Lawrence, of do.
85. Rev. E. S. Janes, D. D., of N. Y., Bishop of the M. E. Church.

86. Rev. Matthew Simpson, D. D., of Pa., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
87. Rev. Levi Scott, D. D., of Del., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
88. Rev. R. R. Gurley, of Dist. of Col.
89. E. R. Alberti, Esq., of Florida.
90. Judge Ormond, of Alabama.
91. Rev. W. T. Hamilton, D. D., of do.
92. Hon. Daniel Chandler, of do.
93. Rev. Robert Faine, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
94. Hon. J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.
95. Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, D. D. of do.
96. Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Ohio.
97. Rev. T. A. Morris, D. D., of do., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
98. Henry Stoddard, Esq., of do.
99. Rev. E. R. Ames, D. D., of Ind., Bishop of the M. E. Church.
100. Hon. S. A. Douglass, of Ill.
101. Rev. Jas. C. Finley, of do.
102. Hon. Edward Bates, of Mo.
103. Hon. J. B. Miller, of do.
104. Hon. W. F. Darby, of do.
105. Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., of do.
106. Hon. H. S. Foote, of Cal.
107. Hon. J. B. Crockett, of do.

The secretary read the following letter from the Hon. William Appleton, viz :

Washington, January 18, 1854.

DEAR SIR :

In the anniversary report of the Society, it is stated that Mr. Bell of Nashville had sent thirty-eight of his servants to Liberia, that he has a large number, some of which he would like to send, (about eighty.) He proposes giving them an outfit, paying their expenses to the place of embarkation, and half the expenses to transport them to Africa. You say the Society is desirous of obtaining twenty-four hundred dollars to carry out his benevolent intentions. I shall have pleasure in furnishing the sum named, to effect the object.

Very sincerely yours,

WM APPLETON.

To the Sec'y of the Am. Col. Soc.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society are due to the Hon. William Appleton for the timely aid which he has afforded to enable the Society to meet the obligation imposed upon them by the generous offer of Mr. Bell in regard to the servants referred to in Mr. Appleton's note.

Rev. Mr. Brooks offered the following

## Meeting of the Board of Directors.—Letter from Solomon Sturges, Esq.

resolution, which was referred to the Board of Directors, viz :

*Resolved*, That it be suggested to the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society to consider the propriety of taking such steps as may be deemed expedient to engage the co-operation of the

Governments and of the philanthropists of Christian Europe in the colonization and christianization of Africa, through the agency of Liberia.

Adjourned to meet the third Tuesday of January, 1855, at 7 o'clock, p. m.

### Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington, Jan. 17, 1854.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met January 17th, 1854, at 12 M.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Peters of Mass., on motion, the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of Princeton, N. J., was appointed Chairman, and Dr. D. Meredith Reese of New York, Secretary to the Board.

Rev. J. B. Pinney, Rev. Joseph Tracy, and Rev. J. M. Pease, were appointed a Committee on credentials.

Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society, read the minutes of the last meeting of the Board, which, after verbal amendment, were approved.

The Committee on credentials asked for instructions from the board as to the Graham legacy of \$5,000 paid into the Treasury from New York, for the purposes of education in Liberia. On motion, they were instructed to recognise this sum as an additional basis of representation for the New York State Colonization Society, over and above the sum reported by the Recording Secretary as such basis.

Messrs. Disoway and Davidson were appointed the Auditing committee.

The Secretary of the Society read letters from Hon. Millard Fillmore and A. G. Phelps, Esq. of New York, regretting their unavoidable absence from the meeting ; also from Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Ohio ; and one from the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, the last named gentleman being unable to

meet the Board in consequence of sickness. Mr. Disoway apologized for the absence of James Boorman, Esq., delegate elect and Life Director from New York.

The letter of Mr. Sturges was ordered to be placed on the minutes.

ZANESVILLE, OHIO,

December 26, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR :—I had hoped to have been able to have attended the meeting of the Colonization Society, in Washington, in January, but leave home in a day or two for Illinois and Michigan, and shall not return in time to do so.

I am anxious that a settlement should be formed in Liberia, more in the "Interior" where the country becomes *high and rolling*, the streams *brisk* and the water *pure*. I have strong impressions, that if our emigrants could be transported to Liberia in well-ventilated steamships ; landed before they become reduced by long voyage and sea sickness, and taken at *once* from the *coast*, on to the high, healthy lands of the *Interior*, they would mostly *escape* what you call the "Acclimating Fever" of the country.

I do not think we need, *at this time*, a *Line*, or more than *one* steamship, to convey our emigrants. If we ask Congress for that only, *now*, they will grant it. I propose that you get some friend in that body to offer a resolution, directing the Secretary of the Navy to designate such steamship from our navy as he shall deem best adapted for the purpose, and used in conveying colored emigrants from Norfolk in Virginia, to Liberia, *as long* as such vessel can be spared from the public service, and under such "general regulations," as the Secretary of the Navy shall *adopt*, to promote the object in view.

I am also strongly impressed with the opinion, that the *sooner* President Roberts acquires *more territory* in the *interior*, in a healthy region and *adjoining* our present territory, the *better*. I am sure the friends

## Names of Delegates from State Societies.

of Africa will promptly furnish any reasonable sum that may be required for that object. I want money very much, just now, but I will spare a thousand dollars, at short notice, *for that purpose*, as I am anxious to see the Millenium dawning in Africa, and on its outcast sons and daughters in this country, before I die. I shall always be glad to hear from you.

With respect and esteem, yours, &c.

SOLOMON STURGES.

On motion of Mr. Disosway, it was

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare a minute for the records on the death of Anson G. Phelps, Esq., late a Vice President, and Life Director of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Disosway and Rev. Dr. Wheeler were appointed said committee.

The Secretary of the Society read an abstract of the Annual Report, which was ordered to be read at the anniversary meeting of the Society to-night.

The Statement of the Executive Committee was read; when, on motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, it was referred to a committee of five, to consider and report thereon.

Rev. Mr. Tracy, Rev. Dr. Balch, and Messrs. Stoddard, Ward, and Foulke were appointed said committee.

The committee on credentials reported the following Delegates from State Societies.

*Vermont Colonization Society*.—Rev. John Wheeler, D. D.,\* Rev. William Mitchell,\* Gen. William Nash, Rev. F. B. Wheeler,\* N. B. Haswell, Esq., Henry Stevens, Esq., Hon. James Meacham, Hon. S. Foote, Hon. Alva Sabin.\*

*Massachusetts Colonization Society*.—Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. William Appleton,\* Hon. J. Wiley Edmands,\* Hon. S. H. Walley,\* Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D.\* Rev. Charles Brooks,\* Rev. Joseph Tracy.\*

*Connecticut Colonization Society*.—Hon. Truman Smith,\* Hon. O. S. Seymour,\* James Brewster, Esq.,\* H. H. Barbour,

Esq., W. S. Charnley, Esq., Frederick Crosswell, Esq., Augustus Mead, Esq.,\* Rev. Mark Tucker, D. D., Rev. Thomas C. Clarke, D. D., Rev. Walter Clarke, D. D., Rev. J. N. Murdock, Rev. John Orcutt,\* Hon. John A. Rockwell.\*

*New York State Colonization Society*.—Hon. D. S. Gregory, A. G. Phelps, Esq., G. P. Disosway, Esq.,\* D. M. Reese, M. D.,\* Francis Hall, Esq., J. C. Devereux, Esq.,\* Hon. L. B. Ward,\* H. M. Schieffelin, Esq.,\* James Boorman, Esq., Smith Bloomfield, Esq.,\* J. G. Gobie, M. D.,\* J. P. Jackson, Esq.\*

*New Jersey Colonization Society*.—John R. Davidson, Esq.,\* L. A. Smith, M. D.\*

*Pennsylvania Colonization Society*.—Rev. J. M. Pease,\* Rev. W. B. Stevens, D. D., Rev. A. B. Quay,\* Rev. John Miller,\* Rev. L. P. W. Balch, D. D.,\* William P. Foulke, Esq.,\* W. H. Allen, Esq.,\* William Coppinger, Esq.\*

*Virginia Colonization Society*.—Rev. P. Slaughter, Rev. W. H. Starr,\* Rev. Geo. W. Leyburn, Hon. J. S. Caskie, Hon. C. J. Faulkner, Hon. John Letcher, Edgar Snowden, Esq., Rev. Dr. Sparrow,\* Rev. J. B. Jeter, Rev. J. H. Davis,\* Rev. M. D. Hoge, Rev. George D. Cummins, S. S. Baxter, Esq.,\* W. H. McFarland, Esq., Tazewell Taylor, Esq., Philip Williams, Esq., John Howard, Esq., Wyndham Robertson, Esq., D'Arcy Paul, Esq., R. B. Bolling, Esq.

*Indiana Col. Soc.*—Hon. J. A. Wright, Hon. J. G. Davis,\* Hon. T. A. Hendricks,\* Rev. James Mitchell,\* Hon. Judge Elliott, Hon. Isaac Blackford.

*Illinois Col. Soc.*—Hon. S. A. Douglass.

*Life Directors present*.—Hon. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn., Rev. J. B. Pinney, of N. Y., Rev. John Maclean, D. D., and Rev. R. S. Finley, of N. J., James

\* Those marked thus (\*) were present.



The President of the Society called to preside.—Report of Rev. J. Mitchell.

Hall, M. D. of Md., Rev. W. McLain, of D. C., Henry Stoddard, Esq. of Ohio.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Peters, the rule was suspended, and the present payments from New Jersey and Illinois were included as a basis of representation at the present meeting.

On motion of Mr. Foulke, it was

*Resolved*, That the secretary furnish, as soon as practicable, to the Committee on the statement of the Executive Committee an exhibit of the gross receipts and expenditures of each agent of the Society.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow at 9 o'clock, a. m.

January 18th.

The Board met according to adjournment. Rev. Dr. Maclean in the chair.

The minutes of the last session were read, corrected, and approved.

The Chairman suggested to the Board the following preamble and resolutions, viz:

Whereas, the Constitution provides that the President of the Society shall perform the duties appropriate to his office; and whereas, for special personal reasons the President has not heretofore usually presided at the meetings of the Board of Directors; and whereas, it is deemed expedient at this time to express the opinion of the Board upon this subject; therefore

*Resolved*, That this Board consider as comprised in the appropriate duties of the office of President, the presiding, when present, at the meetings of the Board of Directors.

The foregoing preamble and resolution were adopted, and ordered to be sent to the President.

On motion of Mr. Disosway, it was

*Resolved*, That to express our high regards for the President of the United States and the Cabinet, and to show how greatly we value their countenance of the operations and objects of the American Colonization Society, a committee of three be appointed to make the proper arrangements for an interview.

Messrs. Whittlesey, Latrobe, and Disosway were appointed said committee.

At 10 o'clock the Board took a recess, for the meeting of the Society.

After the meeting of the Society, the Board of Directors were called to order. President Latrobe in the chair.

Mr. Foulke presented a communication from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, respecting the naming of the town near Bassa Cove, in Grand Bassa County, Republic of Liberia, which was read; and on motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, was ordered to be placed in the archives of the Society, in conformity with the request contained therein.

The Secretary of the Society read the Report of Rev. J. Mitchell, General Agent for the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, which is as follows:

*To the Board of Directors*

*of the Am. Col. Society.*

We would respectfully submit the following brief view of our doings in the North West, for the fraction of the year during which we have been acting under the commission of this Board.

At our last annual meeting, the work in the State of Indiana was planned; but not legally organized owing to the unpublished state of the law of organization—since then that law has gone into force, and in addition another has been enacted, providing for additional appropriations to the amount of (\$10,000) ten thousand dollars, and providing for the office of Secretary for the State Board of Colonization. For further particulars in regard to the work in Indiana we refer you to our first report, under the new organization, a copy of which we herewith submit.

The State of Illinois has received a portion of our attention and time, and we may venture to express the hope that our labor has not been in vain. We re-organized the old State Society at Springfield, in the month of—since which we have paid that State two other visits, making it a point to present our cause in the most influential centers, where we have been cordially received, and our call for material aid responded to.—The collections from that State amount to the sum of \$249.25.

The prospect for state aid is good, and

## Resolutions:—Recognition of independence of Liberia, &amp;c.

we have received pledges from several of the influential statesmen of Illinois that their State will in a short time take her place among the contributing States.

We have likewise visited the States of Wisconsin and Michigan, and in each organized a State Society, the organization of the first named being the most perfect and vigorous, it comprehends some of the ruling minds of Wisconsin. In regard to this organization, its Secretary, the Rev. C. Lord, of Madison, thus writes in a letter of November 23d, "I am confident that our Board will draw to it by degrees many of the real friends of the Slave, and it may yet appear that the very first thing done in Wisconsin, of real value to the poor black, was done through its agency."

We suppose he refers to our system of circularization in that State, and our memorial to the existing administration.

We made no collections in either of those States on those our first visits, considering it impolitic to attempt to reap a field where nothing has been planted.—However, we hope in future to be able to give a good financial account of those States.

It is our design to visit the State of Iowa as soon as possible, and effect if possible a State organization therein.

On the whole we have abundant reason to thank Providence for the success of our enterprise in that distant field; and the past emboldens us to look forward to the future with confidence, and a strong expectation of greater success.

Respectfully submitted,  
J. MITCHELL.

WASHINGTON,  
January 17th, 1854.

The Auditing Committee reported that they had examined the Treasurer's account, and found the same correct. (See the exhibit, page 43.)

The Annual Report of the Society was referred to a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Orcutt, Williams, and Allen.

Mr. Foulke offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz :

1. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed by the President, of which the President shall be Chairman, to take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining a recognition of the Republic of Liberia by the government of the United States.

2. *Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the President, to take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining from the Congress of the United States aid towards the establishment and maintenance of a mail line of steamers from the United States to Liberia.

3. *Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the President, to take such steps as they shall deem expedient for obtaining a completion of an exploration by the government of the United States of the country lying east of Liberia in Africa.

Messrs. Schieffelin, Hall, and Williams were appointed the Committee on the second resolution ; and Messrs. Foulke, Whittlesey and McLain were appointed the Committee on the third resolution.

Mr. Foulke offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz :

1. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to procure the publication for the Society of as many copies as they shall deem expedient of the report of Commander Lynch of his recent reconnaissance of Western Africa.

2. *Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to continue to take such proper steps as may be practicable towards obtaining such an adjustment of the tariff of the United States as shall be most favorable to the commerce of the United States with Liberia.

3. *Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to report to the next annual meeting of the Board a mode in which the representation of the State Societies shall be thereafter apportioned.

Messrs. Foulke, Pinney, Tracy, Pease, and Goble, were appointed said Committee.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, a Committee was appointed to nominate officers for the present year.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, Rev. Mr. Miller, and Dr. Hall were appointed said Committee.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Miller, the following resolution was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to consider the expediency of providing a special agent for this Society to represent its interests in Europe.

Messrs. Miller, Williams, Maclean, Pinney, and Coppinger, were appointed said Committee.

## Alteration in the constitution of the Society. &amp;c.

Rev. Dr. Wheeler, chairman of the Committee on alterations in the constitution of the Society, appointed last year, presented a report, which report having been read, and it appearing to the Board that due publication had been made according to the 3th article of the constitution, it was, on motion,

*Resolved*, That the 5th article of the Constitution be amended so as to read as follows :

Art. 6. The Board shall annually appoint one or more Secretaries, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons, all of whom shall be *ex officio* members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings, and to take part in the transactions of its business ; but they shall not vote, except as provided in article 7.

Rev. Mr. Pease offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed by the President to examine into the expediency of the appointment of a suitable person whose duty it shall be to supervise the location of emigrants in Liberia, and encourage their settlement more interior, examine the accounts, and see that the local agents in that country attend fully to their respective duties, and to develop the interests of colonization in Liberia, and also to give reliable information to this Society respecting the condition and progress of matters in the New Republic.

Rev. Messrs. Pease, Tracy, and Mitchell of Vt. were appointed said Committee.

On motion it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to consider the practicability of appropriations of money, or encouraging voluntary contributions, directly, to the Government of Liberia, for the purpose of promoting internal improvements in that country, particularly that of establishing a receptacle for newly arrived emigrants at some eligible point, and of opening roads from the principal sea-port towns back to the remote and more interior tribes.

Rev. Messrs. Pease, Finley, and McLain were appointed said Committee.

The report of the Committee on amending the Constitution was again taken up; and, after discussion, the Board adjourned until 7 o'clock this evening.

## Evening Session, Jan. 18th.

The Board met according to adjournment.

Mr. Schieffelin offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That the subject of steam communication between the United States and Liberia, in view of promoting and cheapening emigration be referred to a Committee whose duty it shall be to report to the next meeting of the Board such information as they may be able to obtain upon the subject, or to report, if they see fit, at an earlier date, to the Executive Committee, which last is hereby authorized to lend such aid, on the part of the Society, to the furtherance of the plan, as they may be able to do without involving the Society in pecuniary responsibility.

Messrs. Schieffelin, Hall, and Williams were appointed said Committee.

The subject of the proposed amendments to the Constitution was again taken up, and, after discussion and mature consideration, the proposition to provide for Permanent Directors, and the payment of their expenses, was put to vote, and lost.

Mr. Foulke offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to report the number of Secretaryships which in their opinion it will be expedient to establish under the recent amendment of the Constitution ; also to define the duties of each, and to suggest such compensation as they may think proper to affix to each ; and that they report at the next annual meeting of this Board.

Messrs. Foulke, Pinney, Tracy, and Drs. Hall and Goble, were appointed said Committee.

Rev. Mr. Miller offered the following resolution, viz :

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Board, the clause in the third article of the Constitution, saying that, "any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a director for life," does not contemplate the instituting of Life Directorships by State Societies on the bases of

## Officers of the Society appointed, &amp;c.

the miscellaneous contributions of the people.

On motion, the foregoing resolution was referred to the Committee on adjustment of representation.

Rev. Mr. Orcutt, from the Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Society, reported as follows :

The Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Society, respectfully report, That they have carefully read the same, with much interest, and recommend that it be published as usual under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Goble called for information relative to the settlement in Liberia proposed by the New Jersey Colonization Society ; which subject was referred to a Committee of five, consisting of Dr. Goble, Rev. Dr. Maclean, Dr. Hall, Mr. Davidson, and Dr. Lugenbeel.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

## January 19th.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment.

The minutes of the session yesterday were read, corrected, and approved.

Rev. Mr. McLain laid before the Board the following resolution, which had been referred by the Society to the consideration of the Board of Directors, viz :

*Resolved*, That it be suggested to the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society to consider the propriety of taking such steps as may be deemed expedient, to engage the co-operation of the Governments and of the philanthropists of Christian Europe in the colonization and christianization of Africa, through the agency of Liberia.

On motion, the foregoing resolution was referred to the Committee on the proposed mission to Europe.

Rev. Mr. Tracy, from the Committee on the Statement of the Executive Com-

mittee, made a report ; which, on motion, was referred to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Foulke offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That each of the Agents of the Society be directed to report to the Board of Directors, at its annual meetings, a summary of his labors during the last preceding year, with a statement in detail of his receipts and expenditures.

Dr. Goble, from the Committee to whom was referred the subject of a settlement in the interior of Liberia proposed by the New Jersey Colonization Society, made the following report, which was adopted, viz :

*Report*.—The Committee appointed to consider, and report upon the expediency of forming a settlement upon the lands purchased in Liberia by the New Jersey Colonization Society, respectfully submit to the Board the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That the Board have learned with much pleasure that the lands in question are likely to prove of great value, and that the Executive Committee have already directed their attention to the subject of locating a large number of emigrants upon them, and also directed estimates to be made of the expense of clearing the lands, opening roads, &c., the Board feel confident that the Committee will continue to give the subject all proper attention.

2. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the authorities of Liberia to give the name of "FINLEY" to the first settlement made upon the above mentioned lands :

J. G. GOBLE, *Chairman*.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, from the Committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year, reported the names of the following gentlemen, all of whom were duly appointed, viz :

*Secretary and Treasurer*, Rev. W. McLain.

*Recording Secretary*, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.

*Executive Committee*, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton, W. W. Seaton.

## Resolutions respecting an agency in Europe.—Report of Rev. R. R. Gurley.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, the Executive Committee was instructed to re-appoint Rev. R. R. Gurley, as Travelling General Agent for the Society, and to continue the General Agency for the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Mitchell of Vermont, the following resolution was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That the agents employed by the American Colonization Society be paid a fair salary, with necessary travelling expenses, and that the same mode of compensation be recommended to Auxiliary Societies.

Rev. Mr. Miller, from the Committee on the proposed agency in Europe, presented the following report, which was adopted, viz :

The Committee appointed to consider the expediency of providing a special agency for this Society, to represent its interests in Europe, beg leave to report the following resolutions, viz :

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient, in case a separate fund can be raised for the expense of such a mission, to send a special agent to Europe for the purpose of diffusing information, and securing the good will of the people.

2. *Resolved*, That in this connection, the Executive Committee are hereby requested to invite the services of the Rev. L. P. W. Balch, D. D., of West Chester, Pa., on a special mission for this Society to Europe.

3. *Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to raise, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, the funds needed for the support of this agency.

Rev. Mr. Miller, Mr. Williams, Rev Dr. Maclean, and Rev. Messrs. Brooks, and Pinney, were appointed said Committee.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That the President of the American Colonization Society communicate to President Roberts the proceedings of this Society relative to the appointment of a special agent to Europe.

Rev. Dr. Balch expressed his thanks for the honor conferred on him by the resolu-

tion of the board respecting the European mission, and stated that he would communicate his decision in relation thereto to the Executive Committee in due season.

At the suggestion of the President, a Committee of three was appointed to prepare by-laws for the government of the proceedings of the Board of Directors, said Committee to report at the next annual meeting of the Board.

On motion, the President was constituted chairman of said Committee, and he added the names of Mr. Whittlesey and Rev. W. McLain.

(*Note*.—At half past 12 o'clock, the Board took a recess, to visit the President of the United States and the Cabinet, according to appointment.)

A Report was read from Rev. R. R. Gurley, which was ordered to be printed with the Annual Report, as follows :

WASHINGTON,  
January 18th, 1854.

REV. WM. McLAIN,

*Secretary and Treasurer of the A. C. S.*

DEAR SIR—For a brief report of my endeavors to advance the cause of the Society, during the early part of the year in the State of Georgia, I have the honor to refer the Board of Directors to my letter, addressed to yourself, and published in the African Repository for September. I have stated in that letter, that I had the pleasure of explaining the views and recommending the objects of the Society to friendly and intelligent audiences in Augusta, Greensborough, Hancock, Milledgeville, Macon, Columbus and Savannah, and by private intercourse with individuals and the distribution of the reports and other publications of the Society to diffuse correct information in regard to its history, operations and success. I enjoyed an opportunity of addressing the General Baptist State Convention, at Atlanta, a body of from two to three hundred ministers assembled from every part of that State, while I witnessed the deep impression made upon this convention by the Rev. T. J. Bowen, who after a residence of more than two years in the interior of Africa, had then but recently returned to report his discoveries and solicit the countenance and aid of his brethren in the establishment of a well organized and per-

## Report of Rev. R. R. Gurley.

manent mission in the kingdom of Yorri-ba. This truly apostolic man, accompanied by his wife, and two other missionaries with their wives, all from the State of Georgia, have since entered upon the chosen field of their labors in the interior of Africa.

During the summer, I visited some of the more populous towns and cities of Western New York, and made public addresses in Albany, Troy, Rochester, Canandaigua, Geneva, and Auburn. Subsequently, I accepted an invitation to attend the annual meeting of the State Society of Vermont, in Montpelier, where much interest in the cause was expressed by a large congregation. In Burlington, Brandon, Rutland and Bennington, highly respectable congregations listened to statements on the subject; and from my own observations, as well as from the testimony of the officers of the Vermont Society, and of their able and efficient agent, the Rev. Wm. Mitchell, I cannot doubt that confidence in the cause of this institution and dispositions generously to sustain it are rapidly gaining strength among all classes of the population of this small but vigorous and heroic state.

In Hartford, Connecticut, I spent a Sabbath, and found a large congregation in the evening, disposed to listen to a discourse on the subject of African Colonization and Missions. Through the faithful and successful labors of the Rev. Mr. Orcutt, a very general and liberal interest has been excited in favor of the enterprise throughout that State.

By invitation of Dr. Goble and several distinguished friends of the Society, I recently visited New Jersey, and addressed congregations in Jersey City, Newark, Bloomfield and New Brunswick, while the last week I attended the annual meeting of the State Colonization Society at Trenton, over which the Governor presided, and which was honored by the presence of many of the members of the State Legislature. This State is proudly distinguished as the birthplace of the venerable founder of the Society, and of its first Secretary; as the home of its Historian, and of that gallant naval officer, who first obtained a foothold for liberty and unfurled her flag upon the African shore. Her citizens have shown an ardent attachment to the Society, and by the purchase of a fine tract of upland country have indicated their purpose to open all its great advantages to the colored population within their limits. It will occur to the honorable

Board of Directors, that owing to the occupation of the fields, which have been visited, by State Societies and local agents, the writer found but few opportunities for direct efforts to raise funds, yet the very absence from attempts to call forth contributions, may have left the minds of those addressed more open to conviction, and prepared the way for future and generous donations.

To unite the friends of the colored race in all the States of this Union, and our brethren throughout christendom, in earnest and judicious measures to establish and build up one or more free christian States of the descendants of Africa, on the principles embodied in the constitution of Liberia, as means and agencies for the deliverance and civilization of Africa is the great work of this Society. As this is a work of the highest beneficence, the voluntary principle should mark all its operations, which should be conducted with exact justice, and charity unfeigned. I respectfully suggest that in future efforts for the exploration of Africa, special application be made for aid to the Government of Liberia. The citizens of that Republic, accustomed to the climate and familiar with the dispositions and habits of the native tribes are well qualified to co-operate, if not to take the lead, in such an enterprise. The Society of New Jersey has recommended the establishment of a settlement on the elevated district of the interior purchased by contributions from that State, and that the principal town of this district should bear the great name of the venerated founder of this Society. Would it not be well to appropriate to this object, and to other improvements in Liberia a definite sum (say ten thousand dollars) on condition that the authorities of Liberia dedicate an equal amount to the same objects?

Having received, recently, several interesting and encouraging letters from Liberia, and having examined some others received at the office of the Society, it has occurred to me, that the publication in pamphlet form, of the most valuable of these letters, with others received by other individuals or Societies, for gratuitous distribution, would be of special advantage to the cause. To enlighten the minds of our free colored people in regard to Liberia is of high importance, since to such of them as may engage in our enterprise will belong, pre-eminently, the advantages and honors of African Colonization. I trust we shall never cease to invoke the aid of

## Agency for Liberia.—Resolutions respecting the late A. G. Phelps.

the State Legislatures and of the national Government, and I beg leave to conclude this brief letter with the sentences with which on my return from Liberia, three years ago, I concluded my report to the Hon. Secretary of State.

"From the presence of our squadron on the African Coast, benefits doubtless accrue both to Liberia and to our own commerce; but I may be permitted in the conclusion of this report, to avow the opinion that a recognition by the Government of the United States of the independence of the Republic of Liberia, and an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars a year for ten years, to enable that Republic to carry out the principles of its constitution, for the happiness of those who from this country are seeking a home upon its soil; for the suppression of the slave trade; and the civilization of Africa, would be in harmony with the character and sentiments of this nation, and give stability, progress and triumph to liberty and christianity on the African shore."

I have the honor to be, my Dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,  
R. R. GURLEY.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Pinney, the following resolution was adopted, viz:

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee notify the members of the several committees appointed to report at the next annual meeting of their appointment, and furnish them with a copy of the resolutions and subjects committed to their charge.

Rev. Mr. Pease, from the Committee on the subject of an agent to Liberia, presented the following report which was adopted, viz:

*Report of Committee of Agency for Liberia.*

The Committee to whom was referred the resolution to consider the expediency of the appointment of an Agent for Liberia, who shall have general supervision of our emigrants while they are depending on this Society for support and attendance, beg leave to submit the following brief report:

From the evident importance of the subject it is to be regretted that the press of business and limited time will not allow an extended report and full discussion of the merits of such agency at present. Several communications from Liberia, placed in the hands of the Committee, indicating the apparent necessity of such an agent, and expressly requesting his appointment, with a correspondence on the constitutionality and

practicability of such an agent, having passed between the Executive officer of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and the President of the American Colonization Society, it appears to your Committee as entirely safe to commit the whole matter to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society. The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the accompanying resolution, viz:

*Resolved*, That all the papers relating to this subject be referred to the Executive Committee, that this interesting subject may receive their early attention, and if they deem it expedient, that they have authority to appoint and specify the relation and work of such agent.

JOHN MORRIS PEASE,  
Chairman.

Mr. Devereux offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz:

*Resolved*, That in view of the increasing attendance of members of this Board, and the enlargement of its business, it is expedient to procure a more capacious and better ventilated room for the meetings of the Board and of the Society, with suitable accommodations for Committees, and that the Executive Committee carry this resolution into effect, if practicable, before the next annual meeting of the Board.

Mr. Disosway, from the Committee appointed to prepare a minute on the death of Anson G. Phelps, Esq., presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted, viz:

Whereas, since the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Am. Col. Society, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from his earthly labors Anson G. Phelps, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents and a Life Director of this Society—therefore,

*Resolved*, That this Board feel that they should be doing injustice to themselves not to express their sense of the great injury they have sustained by the loss of his wise and prudent counsels, of his earnest and efficient action, of his constant and unfailing pecuniary charity, and specially of his bright and cheering example, in all the relations of our common humanity.

*Resolved*, That while we deplore our own loss we cannot but sympathize with the numerous institutions of public and of private charity, which have been de-

Vote of thanks to Justice Wayne and President Latrobe.—Address.

prived of a most active and efficient support, and also with the immediate family and relatives of our respected friend.

*Resolved*, That the intentions, opinions, and concluding acts of our departed friend as expressed in his Will, is, for its uncommon compass of thought, its disinterested benevolence, its prudential regard to promoting the greatest good, worthy of high admiration and warm commendation.

*Resolved*, That the family of the late Mr. Phelps be requested to allow a copy of his portrait to be made and deposited in the rooms of this Society, and that — be a committee to carry out this request.

*Resolved*, That a certified copy of the above be sent by the Recording Secretary to the family of our late distinguished friend.

G. P. DISOSWAY,  
J. WHEELER,  
*Committee.*

Mr. Disosway and Rev. Dr. Maclean were appointed the Committee to carry out the object embraced in the fourth resolution.

The Secretary of the Society reported that the Liberia Herald has been suspended; and the following resolution was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That it be referred to the Executive Committee, with power to take such measures as they may deem proper to sustain the Liberia Herald.

On motion of Mr. Disosway, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Board

be presented to the Hon. Justice Wayne of the U. S. Supreme Court for the address which he delivered at the late Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, and that the Secretary of the Society be instructed to transmit to him a copy of this resolution, and to request of him a copy of his address for publication.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the President of the Society for the address delivered by him at the late Annual Meeting, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

Rev. Mr. Pease offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That the Board are ready to receive, invest, and set apart, for the purposes of common school education in Liberia, all such sum or sums of money as may be given or bequeathed to them for that purpose.

The minutes were then read and approved.

On motion, the Board adjourned to the third Tuesday in January, 1855, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Maclean.

J. H. B. LATROBE,  
*President A. C. S.*

D. M. REESK.  
*Secretary.*

**Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., President of the Am. Col. Society,  
AT THE ANNIVERSARY, JANUARY 17, 1854.**

*Gentlemen of the American Colonization Society.*—

The only duty that our constitution, in terms, imposes upon the President, is to preside at the annual meetings. I am here to-night for that purpose. Twenty-eight years ago, I came to Washington, to urge upon the Society the importance of multiplying settlements in Africa. Three years since, I again appeared as a speaker at the annual meeting. I addressed the same individual who had presided a quarter of a century before. Mr. Clay still occupied the chair. It was the last time he filled it. When the anniversary returned, he was stretched on the bed from whence he rose no more, and his great fellow-statesman,

Mr. Webster, took his place on the occasion. Another year, and both were in the grave; and General Mercer, their cotemporary and friend, identified with the Society from its organization, officiated as chairman. At that meeting the honor was conferred upon me, that makes my presence here to-night a duty. The active labors of thirty years for Africa, and for this cause, were then compensated tenfold. Prevented by the circumstances of my professional life from indulging in political aspirations, you nevertheless gave me a position, more elevated than any within the scope of my longings, or within the reach of my opportunities. I would be doing injustice to my own feelings,



Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

therefore, did I not, on this, the first appropriate occasion, say emphatically, in the hope that in the brief words, you will recognise an abiding sense of a distinction conferred,—*I thank you.*

And, gentlemen, who is there that you could place here, who should not say the same? What cause is there now before the Christian world more honorable or more dignified than African Colonization. Year after year it has grown in stature and in comeliness. From small beginnings, the impulses of an unobtrusive philanthropy, it has become a political necessity. It offers, in its settlements on the coast of Africa, the only solution of the difficult question presented by the existence, in the same land, of two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage is impracticable; and it opens an outlet, better than any other, through which the weaker of the two may escape from the pressure of that vast European immigration, which threatens to crush it in a strife for bread—an immigration withheld in mercy until new homes in another continent could be prepared for those who were to disappear before it.

There are some who believe that this immigration, together with the natural increase of our population, may, one day, so affect wages as to make it questionable, whether free white labor, becoming by that time acclimated to the toil of every part of our country, may not be cheaper, under all circumstances, than slave labor; in which event, it is supposed that a voluntary emancipation, prompted by interest alone, may make our whole colored population free. Should such anticipations ever be realized, the importance of the outlet which colonization has opened in the direction of Liberia, will be all the more highly appreciated; and should slavery, from mere lack of other topics for that party excitement which is a necessity, it would seem, of our condition, still continue to be discussed, eagerly and angrily, in high places, the discussion will at all events be made harmless, by the gradual withdrawal of the colored race, of their own accord, from the theatre of the strife.

It forms no part of my purpose to argue the probabilities of such a result. Whether it ever takes place or not, absolutely or in degree, the suggestion presents an aspect of our subject, in which it certainly loses nothing of its magnitude. Without any reference, however, to the future, in this connection, we know enough of colon-

ization, having regard to our existing free colored population only, to see that it involves considerations looking not merely to the civilization and christianization of Africa, but to the welfare and happiness of our own country. If, under its influences, we, on this side of the Atlantic, become an homogeneous people, gradually and almost imperceptibly, or merely remove from us the free of the other race, Africa will owe to it the blessings that even now attend upon it. It has already shewn itself more potent to suppress the slave trade than the laws which declare it piracy, or the squadrons that have been set to watch it. The Bible Society is on its right hand,—the Missionary Society is on its left hand,—close by it is the Sunday School,—the Tract Society finds in it an agency that can be used as the colporteur of a continent; and even total abstinence was a provision in the Constitution of Maryland in Liberia, before Maine laws were dreamed of here.

No American statesman, then, dealing with the great interests of the country, now and for the future, can longer look upon African Colonization as a mere scheme of visionary philanthropy. It has grown to be an element in the combinations that are arranging themselves throughout the world, to be recorded as history. It lives no more on the sound of the great names of those who rocked the cradle of its infancy. It has ceased to quote opinions, and begun to point to facts. Vessels filled with emigrants, now from New York,—to-morrow from Baltimore and Norfolk,—again from Savannah and New Orleans, are its illustrations, and its crowning triumph is the Republic of Liberia.

But the enterprise we have to deal with is, nevertheless, yet in its infancy. Its results, accumulating through generations, are to be fully realized by those only who shall come after us—the descendants of our descendants. Still, that should not discourage us. We, ourselves, are but now elaborating the beginnings of Plymouth and of Jamestown. Those only accomplish great ends among men, who are prophets with a conviction of the truthfulness of their visions, and who have the patience to wait without despondency. No doubt ever won a battle or realized a fortune. Our success, up to this time, in the prosperity and order of our colonies, in the contentment, healthfulness and numbers of their people, in the commerce that has sprung up around and with Libe-

Address of J. H. C. Latrobe, Esq.

ria, far surpasses the like experiences of all preceding colonizations. We have had, in truth, nothing to discourage us. On the contrary, all things, even those apparently adverse at the time, have worked together for our good; and there is no one reason why African Colonization should not go forward with cheering and congratulation to the accomplishment of that destiny, which was, through the Providence of God, first suggested, only after an association for generations on generations between the whites and the Africans and their descendants, here, had so modified the character of the latter, as to qualify them for the establishment of free, civilized governments in Africa, to which should be attracted, in due season, and in the natural course of events, the free colored population of the United States.

With no past experience, therefore, to make us hesitate, we hold our thirty-seventh anniversary, that we may acquire new confidence in the work that is before us.

When the colony declared itself independent in 1847, the Society was relieved from its political functions as a colonial legislature. But an increasing emigration, greater pecuniary wants, more extensive relations with every part of the Union, had, by this time, greatly multiplied the duties of the executive committee, to which the constitution confides exclusively the business of the Society. Thus, in 1847, the year of independence, but 129 emigrants sailed for Liberia. In 1848 the number was 443; in 1849 it was 422; in 1850 it rose to 507; in 1851 to 676; in 1852 it was 666, and in the year just ended it has been 782. At no time, therefore, since the organization of the society, has there been more occasion for active and incessant exertion in its affairs, than at present.

At a future day, emigration to Africa will fall into the category of all the emigrations that have preceded it, and become self-paying. No emigration, since the world began, has had the same motives to prompt it. But a whole people marches warily, and properly so, from one home to another. Convictions of the necessity of removal impress themselves slowly upon those, whose peculiar characteristic it is to cling to house and hearth-stone. But the result is sure, sooner or later. The circumstances that must produce it are inevitable and irresistible in their operations. Under their influences the free colored

people of this country will one day learn to look upon Africa as the Germans and the Irish now look upon America, and when this shall be the case, their emigration, like that of the others, will be self-paying.

To prepare for the coming of this time, has been the true function of colonization. To this, its great duty, its appointed purpose, its means have been so far sufficient, that, through their use, to quote an able writer, "a christian commonwealth, animated by the spirit of modern civilization, now occupies the abandoned sites of the slaver's barracoons," "and in the distant future will appear to have been among the memorable things of the present age."

The greater task that has often been assigned to the Society, of removing, with its resources, the entire free colored population of the United States, swelling in numbers annually, from emancipation and natural increase, may be admitted to be beyond the amplest means that can reasonably be expected to fall from any quarter into the treasury of the Society; but to what has been already suggested as its appropriate function,—the preparation of a home, to which a voluntary emigration, aided in the beginning, but self-paying in the end, may remove the population in question,—it may hopefully address itself. To this end, the sources of aid heretofore relied upon have been congress, the states and individuals.

Congress, thus far, has made no direct pecuniary contribution; but it has in other ways rendered valuable assistance. It has maintained a squadron on the coast, under the Ashburton treaty, that has rendezvoused at Monrovia, and countenanced by its presence all the settlements in turn. Its agency for re-captured Africans has, even yet more immediately, benefited the cause. The time may come, when the funds of the nation may be given to forward what may be called emphatically the cause of the nation. The suggestions of distinguished statesmen, in this regard, may be carried out; but the prospect of pecuniary aid from this source is not sufficiently clear to permit the relaxation of earnest efforts to obtain it in other directions; and colonizationists should be told, that upon them, as individuals, yet rests the burden of the day; and they should be invoked by all the considerations that have heretofore influenced them, to continue willingly and liberally to bear it unto the end.

But while there may be uncertainty in

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

regard to pecuniary aid from Congress, there are ways in which it may assist the cause of colonization, while at the same time it does no more than its duty to the country at large—*It may recognize Liberia, establish a mail service to the West Coast of Africa, and complete the exploration, commenced under the auspices of the government.*

Of course, every body knows that there is an independent nation styled the Republic of Liberia, which is competent to the management of its own affairs, to its own support, and its own defence; that its laws are modeled after our own, and are wisely and efficiently administered; and that it has been recognized by England, France, Prussia, Belgium and Brazil: and at first sight it would seem that all this should satisfy the young republic, so far at least as to make its recognition by other governments, and among them the United States, a matter of indifference. But recognition by this country is of more than ordinary importance to the new community;—because it is from us that it has gone forth, carrying with it our laws and institutions, and receiving from us, annually, those accessions, upon which it depends for strength and consequence. The antecedents of Liberia, our old relations with her people, appeal so strongly to our kindness, and seem to make recognition, here, so much a thing of course almost, that a failure to recognize may well become a matter of surprise, and lead all men to ask the question, “why should this be so?” To the rest of the world, Liberia was a stranger when its leading nations recognized her independence. To America she never can be a stranger; and yet America withholds what strangers have accorded. If, at some future day, Liberia shall fulfil the expectations of her friends, and the fullness of prophecy shall be realized by the continent on whose borders the republic is established, ours will be the honor; for it will be our forms of government that will be found there, our civilization that will prevail there. Even now, it is our statesmen who have been commemorated in the nomenclature of the cities of the coast, as at Monrovia and Harper; and it will be our quiet homes that will be recalled, as the well known names of the families from amongst whom the emigrants have gone, are borne with them to be transplanted and perpetuated beyond the sea. Young, even then, as America may be, she will be traditionary for the Liberians. Her past will be their past, as her God is their God; and when

the boundaries of the republic shall be the Senegal and the Niger upon the north and east, and the Atlantic on the south and west, there will be a spot on Sherbro Island venerated as the landing place from the Elizabeth, and a rock at Cape Palmas fenced around about as a memorial of the disembarkation from the Ann. Board, thus, in the origin of their national existence, to America, it will be our own fault, if the kindness of the association, which has thus become historical, shall not continue until such existence has an end.

But, apart from such general considerations, there are particular ones appealing directly to the interests of our whole country. The United States are as much concerned in the extension of the markets of the world as any other nation, except England, to whom new markets are necessities. We are a manufacturing, and a commercial people. Producing the greater part of our raw material, we manufacture, up to a certain point, to greater advantage than almost any other people, and our ships carry what we manufacture to the uttermost ends of the earth. We have an active intelligence, too; which is annually improving our machinery, so as to increase our manufactures in a ratio almost geometrical. Now, the greatest of the yet unsupplied markets of the world is Africa, with a population of millions on millions, eager to take from us whatever we please to send there, and giving us in exchange gold and ivory—rich dye woods, palm oil, hides, beeswax, coffee, gums and spices, and indeed all the productions of the Tropics. To this market, or at least a very large portion of it, the settlements on the west coast are the keys. The colored people there, from the United States, are the factors of the world, or are to become such, so far as central Africa is concerned. Civilized and intelligent, and able to live in a climate which is fatal to the white man, they fill a place the latter cannot occupy, and to the duties of which the recaptured, or the native, African is incompetent. England, with her large experience at Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, Cape Coast Castle, and in the Niger, appreciated all this, and hastened to make friends of the people of Liberia. The other nations already named followed her example:—and why should we, by our neglect, make unfriends of them, when all their sympathies are with us, and when they still look upon America as “home;”—for such, strange as some may think it, is

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

nevertheless the fact. Why should it be, that, even now, two-thirds of the commerce of Liberia is in English goods carried in English ships?—All the advantages are on our side. We furnish England the tobacco which is essential to African trade, and supply her with the cotton for the coarse goods with which she glut the markets on the coast. She has no better ships than we have, no better seamen, no better merchants, not more intelligence, not more enterprise: but she has been wiser than we have been—she has recognized the young nation,—she has given it consequence,—she has won its sympathies,—and thus, by doing that which it would cost us nothing to do likewise, she has deprived us, already, or is in a fair way to deprive us, of those advantages which legitimately belong to us, not by operation of law, but by the operations of the human heart, such as made us, in the olden time, bear and suffer so much, rather than cast off our allegiance to Great Britain, and which made us, when we at last threw it aside, cling so closely to France, because she acknowledged to the world that she held us to be a free and independent people.

It is commerce that is to do the work of African Colonization, as it is now doing the work of European immigration. It is commerce that is to build what has often been termed the bridge of boats, over which is to pass eastward, our free coloured population; and why, to pursue the simile, should we, by our indifference and want of foresight, permit the Anglo-Saxon abutment to be placed at Liverpool, when we have only to will it, that it may be laid with broad and deep foundations in the cities of America.

There is another view of this matter of recognition, which ought perhaps to be taken before passing to other subjects. Whatever may be thought of colorization by even its bitterest opponents, there is probably not one of them who would desire to see Liberia closed to emigration from the United States: and yet what guaranty is there, that it will continue to be permitted, except in the desire of the Liberians to increase in numbers, and to maintain kind relations with this country? Here, in America, there have been cases, where emigrants have been sent back to the old world to countries far more powerful, though not more independent than Liberia; and should Liberia, though from different motives, choose to follow our example, making her interest pay tribute to offended

pride, in this respect, and place restrictions upon immigration from America, there would, I presume, be few in our country who would not deeply deplore a result that might so easily have been obviated. That statesmanship is the most sagacious, which embraces not only the probabilities but the possibilities of the future; and hence the discussion of the subject of recognition would be imperfect, did it not refer to what is here suggested as one of the elements, of greater or less weight, in the consideration of the question.

But, the true policy of this country is to recognize the independence of Liberia, and to do it at once, and, if need be, to guaranty it. Every state in the Union has contributed in men, or in money, or in both, to make the Republic what it is: and the United States, powerful and unanimous, can gain nothing but credit, by acknowledging that, formally, which is being practically recognized every day. Let those who rule in the Capitol have no doubt upon the subject. The country—the whole country—will uphold them in the act.

And not only should this recognition take place, as a matter of public policy, none the less proper because it promotes a great philanthropy, but a mail service by steamers should be provided, in view of the commerce which the United States have on the coast, and the squadron that they maintain there,—the vessels taking the western Islands and Madeira on their passage out, and running down the coast from Cape Verde, making an offing from Cape Palmas, so as to strike the trade winds and return before them to this country via the West Indies.

The contract for this mail should be given to the American Colonization Society, to whose operations it would afford most important aid. With regularity in opportunity, there would be regularity in emigration; and the days of sailing would find emigrants arriving at the hour, and embarking without the delay which now attends, necessarily, the transient expeditions to Liberia. Not only would emigration be thus facilitated and cheapened, but colonization would be popularized. Africa would be brought, practically, nearer to America. The voyage, being shortened, would be deprived of its terrors to the ignorant and inexperienced; and gradually, there would grow up, from the small beginning now suggested, an "Ebony line," as imposing as that heretofore brought before Congress; and which growing up,

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

naturally, with the demand for it, would be certain to succeed.

As already seen, England has been before us in the recognition of Liberia; and it is to be added, that she has also anticipated us in a mail to the coast,—a steamer leaving Falmouth every two weeks via the Cape de Verd Islands. The greater part of the correspondence between the United States and Liberia takes this channel; and Lieutenant Lynch, in his recent reconnaissance, actually joined the American Squadron off Monrovia via Liverpool. We thus pay back to England, in postages and passages, a portion of our profits on cotton and tobacco.

Again, Congress may perfect the exploration of the country to the interior of Liberia, commenced by Lieutenant Lynch. It has authorized an expedition to the Antarctic Ocean. The vessels of our country are now seeking the head waters of the Amazon, and are among the Islands of Aleutia. Her boats and her flag have floated upon the ponderous waves that roll above "the cities of the plain;" and if her navy has been permitted to explore the Dead Sea borders, for memorials of the past, why should not Africa be explored in reference to the best hopes of the future. An armament more powerful than any which ever left the ports of America, is now seeking to establish a commerce with the Islands of Japan:—a single officer and a few brave men are all that is asked, that a highway for commerce may be opened, pointing to the heart of one of the four quarters of the globe. Surely to this extent at least, Congress may aid colonization.

Next to Congress, in the enumeration of our resources, come the several States. One of the peculiarities of African Colonization is, that while all its friends agree about its exclusive object,—“the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of the free colored people of the United States”—they agree about very little else. Some advocate it in view of the christianization of a continent: some, to put down the slave trade: some, to hasten the separation of the free from a contact with the slaves, which they look upon as injurious to the latter;—some advocate it, that there may be a place of refuge for the colored race; some contribute, hopeless of any great political result, with a commercial view only. So, too, with the several states. In some, the feeling is favorable to the removal of the free—in others of the eman-

cipated slaves alone—in Maryland, the appropriation is for both purposes.

Colonization has thus been likened to the child of many fathers, with friends all round, but with no one willing to assume its exclusive maintenance: and this, to a certain extent, has been true: and its only apology, if one is needed, for such a parentage, is, that without it, it would never have existed at all; and if a meagre nurture and sorry raiment have at all retarded its growth or impaired its consciousness, the fault has been with the parents, while the misfortune has rested upon the offspring. But, perhaps, it may be all the longer-lived, for not having had precocity forced upon it by a greater liberality on the part of those who have the responsibility of its existence.

So far as the Society itself is affected by the variety of the motives that exist for advocating the cause, it is uninfluenced by any of them. Its work is the removal of emigrants, not the discussion of the motives for emigration. It has refrained from the commencement, and will refrain to the end, from taking part in any controversy in regard to slavery. This is its only becoming course, due alike to its dignity and good faith; and to the fact, that for Thirty-seven years, it has owed its existence to the support that it has received from both north and south, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, whose representatives, meeting at the successive anniversaries, have waived all points of difference, and united in the one great work of founding and maintaining the colony, and promoting the removal to it of such free persons as desired to emigrate,—with what result has been already shown.

Advocated, however, as colonization certainly has been, for varying reasons, there might be a difficulty, in agreeing, in Congress, about the proper class of beneficiaries, in the event of a direct appropriation by the General Government. But no such difficulty can take place in the State Legislatures, where each may select for itself the objects of its bounty, according to its peculiar predilections.

To the several states, therefore, the Society looks with great interest, in connection with this matter. Already, the States of Virginia, Maryland, Indiana, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, have made appropriations; and it is anticipated, not unreasonably, that the others will gradually follow their example. If this action of the several States in-

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

valued the maintenance by each of an organization looking to the shipment of emigrants, and such as makes the American Colonization Society, to some extent, a commercial agency; there would be many objections to it. The result would be complication, and, very probably, a good deal of confusion. Some States might succeed, while others would fail. But the existence of the Parent Society obviates this difficulty, in affording the agency that is necessary. The founder of the settlements on the coast, their friend and guardian from infancy to youth, and now maintaining that intercourse with the Republic which can best be carried on by a single head, it possesses an experience, which it has obtained at some cost, and which admirably fits it for the present exigencies of the Colonization cause.

The last of the resources of the Society are its individual contributions. They have been its main reliance from the beginning. They enable it to meet its local expenses, to maintain its agents throughout the country, to send shiploads after shiploads of emigrants to Africa, and to provide for them for a season there. They form the certainties upon which thousands are now dependent, and upon which thousands on thousands must continue to depend, until, as already intimated, the attractions of Liberia and the repulsions of America, shall make African colonization a self-paying one. Congress may appropriate money, the states, all of them, may do the same, and yet the functions of the American Colonization Society will not cease, until Liberia shall see emigrants arrive, as America now sees them, on the instant of their arrival only, losing sight of them as they are at once absorbed into the great body of the people. To the maintenance of the individual collections, therefore, the co-operation of all who wish well to the cause, over the length and breadth of the land, is most earnestly invoked; and to secure it the efforts of the officers and agents of the Society will doubtless be zealously directed.

The relations of the Society with the free people of colour are too important not to be noticed, separately, on an occasion like the present. Without their co-operation, colonization can have no results: and how much better would it not be, if this co-operation were produced by none but the kindest feelings. In establishing colonies on the coast, colonizationists have been governed by a conviction of the exigencies of the future already described;

and the events of succeeding years have only corroborated their convictions: and when the opponents of the cause have pointed to the increasing intelligence, the greater diffusion of education among free coloured people, and to the honorable positions, in a moral and intellectual point of view, obtained by many of them in this country, as reasons for anticipating a time when they may be recognized as socially and politically the equals of the whites, Colonizationists, freely and to the fullest extent admitting every thing thus claimed in their behalf, have relied upon it for a wholly different purpose, as they discovered, in their increasing sensitiveness and pride, consequent upon increasing mental culture, only additional obstacles to the continuing residence, in the same land, of two free races between whom amalgamation by intermarriage was impracticable. The refinement of the class in question must settle for ever the necessity of their colonization, and they themselves should be the first to acknowledge and proclaim it. Ignorance and callousness may be satisfied with nominal freedom. Educated intelligence cannot tolerate it. And where the free colored man in America is educated and intelligent, and there are numbers who are both, he is like the prisoner in the cages that we read of, who would give life itself for the ability, but for a single hour, once more to extend each limb to the uttermost, and to stand again erect in the full measure of his manhood. While some, therefore, look upon the improvement, here, of the free colored man, as bringing him nearer to the object of his wishes, colonizationists rejoice in it as justifying that confidence in his capacity, without which their scheme, originally, would have been nothing better than a barbarous plan of removing the whole class to Africa, that they might perish on its shores, or relapse into the savage idolatry of their pagan forefathers.

If, agreeing with the Colonizationists, the free people of color are influenced to emigrate before the coming of the evil day so often referred to, so much the better. Should they, doubting the prophecy, abide the event, Colonizationists, with whom has been the vision, will at any rate, have done their duty.

I have thus, on the first occasion that presented itself, expressed, as President of the Society, frankly, and in what I have intended should be a business way, my views in regard to its leading interests, even at the risk of repeating verbatim, perhaps, speeches heretofore delivered

Address of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

during the thirty years of my connection with the cause.

Thirty-seven years is the age of the Society: a brief one it is true, but crowded with interest for future history, in connection with Africa and her people. In 1816, immigration from Europe was infrequent, creating pressure no where. In 1854, it rolls onward and over like a mighty wave, each of whose culminations is higher than the last as it falls upon our shores. In 1816, the ships of the world were not supposed to be adequate to the task of removing to Africa the increase even of our colored population. In 1853, the ordinary commerce of our country brought to us from Europe half a million of souls, exceeding by some 70,000 the total number of our free colored population. In 1816, the future of the latter was the reflection of a happy and careless past. In 1854, it is dark and gloomy and unpromising, with no break in the clouds, no lifting of the mist, no lighting up of the heavens, save across the ocean, and in the direction of Liberia. In 1816, Union in connection with slavery, was never spoken of, because disunion was not even the shadow of a dream. In 1854, Union has become a rallying word, a prayer—just as the relation of father became holier, after the idea of parricide had been suggested. In 1816, colonization was a philanthropy, limited in its views and uncertain in its results. In 1854, it is a political necessity, not political in the sense of party, but as the word regards the happiness of man; the permanence of nations, the spread of knowledge and the advance of christianity. In 1816, colonizationists were looked upon as zealots engaged in an impracticable scheme. In 1854, the great nations of the world are making treaties with the workmanship of this zeal, and so paying homage to its availability. In 1816, from Cape Verde to Cape Palmas, the coast of Africa presented a shining belt of sand, on which the waves broke with thundering sound, bathing the roots almost of the rich dank forest which waved its feathery crests of palm and cocoa above the rolling waters, and sheltered the barracoon of the slaver from the one cape

to the other. In 1854, there stretches along the deep, the same silvery line, and the cocoa and the palm still wave their foliage as landmarks above the horizon of the forest. But the barracoon is wanting in the landscape. The squadrons of civilized men line the coast that it may never be seen there more. Ships of all nations are busy in lawful commerce: and on the shore there are the dwellings of christian men and temples to the living God. Lighthouses guide the mariner from point to point. Vessels are on the stocks—saw mills are in operation—printing presses are at work,—the school master is abroad—candidates are up for office—a legislature is in session—a president sends in his annual message—a militia is equipped and trained and tried—and above all—far, high,—away,—above all,—there is true freedom, religion, happiness and peace; and when, in its turn, that the succession of events may be complete, the funeral procession moves along, the dust that returns to the dust, is that of one who dying invoked blessings upon those who had built up, for God glory, and for the welfare of one mighty nation and the enlightenment of a continent, the Republic of Liberia.

Such are the demonstrations of 1854, compared with the dreamings of 1816. This is the cause whose anniversary we now commemorate. This is the people, whom we do most earnestly hope Congress may recognize as a nation among the nations. This is the people, that we would have brought so near to us by mails, by opportunities of intercourse, that the transit eastward may be as familiar as a morning walk. This is the cause, and this is the people, that we would have the States of the Union aid on their way to the fulfilment of their destiny, and to promote the interests of which we invoke the aid of every man and woman in America, who love their country and are willing to co-operate for its glory and renown—promising, to each and every one of them, that history shall tell of them and theirs no nobler story, than that which records the exodus of Africa with the religion and civilization of America.

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

## Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia:

AT THE 37th ANNIVERSARY, JANUARY 17th, 1854.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I congratulate you, sir, upon your position in this Society, and the Society that you are its President. To succeed such men as have preceded you, is no ordinary distinction; but you, sir, have deserved it from your long and uniform support of the objects of this Society. If the propriety of the selection could be questioned, your address this evening would give the answer. I trust, sir, that it will be extensively circulated, in connexion with all other information of a like kind, which the Society may have in its possession. We still have prejudices to meet and to remove, opposition to encounter and to subdue, and ~~much to do to~~ put this Society and what it has done in a proper view before this nation. It has never had the full sympathy of the American people, and but little of that of the Federal Government. The time has come, when both may be won, if a right course shall be taken to gain them. To do so, we must use freely all of those agencies by which public sentiment may be arrayed in favor of a good cause. The short-hand writer, the telegraph and the press are at our command. They must be employed and paid, to promulgate whatever may be done here, as soon as it is done, and whatever shall happen in connexion with this Society, as soon as it is known. We must do all that our predecessors did, and more. We cannot surpass them in merit, but we may equal them in effort. And we can do more, because the world's apprehension now, of the rights of humanity, whatever may be the color of the man, or wherever he may be found, has removed many difficulties which were in the way of colonizing our free people of color in Africa, when this Society was formed. Then every maritime nation in Europe, except Denmark and England, permitted their subjects to carry on the slave trade from Africa. Their factories and barracoons lined its coast, for more than three thousand miles. Every day's sun rose and set upon the sufferings of victims, added to those of the day before. Now all Christendom denounces such a trade as an odious crime. "From treaties and conventions which have been made by the nations of Europe to abandon it;" it ought henceforth to be considered as interdicted by the international code of Europe and America. It

was this trade which made the colonization of our free people of color in Africa, when this Society was formed, most difficult and uncertain. And it would yet be so, had there been merely a passive abandonment of the trade. But it was known, that having been pursued for more than two hundred years, it would be unlawfully continued,—as it has been, and is to this day—unless the nations of Europe and the United States would actively interfere to enforce the prohibition. It has been extinguished upon the Liberian coast and upon all of that colonized by England: but is still connived at by most of the authorities of the other nations of Europe, which have settlements upon the Western Coast of Africa. In consequence of this, Europe is now combined to give life and energy to their treaties upon this subject. The squadrons of England, France and the United States, enforce them. Severe penalties have been legislatively enacted, by all the nations of Europe and by ourselves, to punish all who shall be caught engaged in the slave trade, or in fitting out vessels for that purpose. This state of things, has shown, too, that a richer commerce may be had with Africa than a slave trade. The nations in the interior of it, and the tribes upon the coast, have also found that out, and must pursue it, if the unlawful trade shall be extinguished, as neither Europe nor America will any longer deal with them for slaves. Besides, sir, that man must be blind to the impressions of Providence, during the last forty years, upon the understandings of men, if he cannot see, that their tendency is, to give to us a more intelligent view of right, with a disposition to support it, and to move our hearts with kindness towards all of the human race. Such are some of the changes in the last forty years, which prompt us to be active and earnest in our efforts to advance the objects of this Society, and which it had not in its favor when it was formed.

Our domestic condition now increases our obligation to do so. There are at this time in the United States, three times the number of free persons of color, that there were when the Society began to colonize them in Africa. If they are not harmless as a class, we know it to be chiefly owing to their necessarily inferior social and civil condition. They are freedmen without



Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

liberty; are mostly without the privileges of instruction, or the right to labor as they please; and can never hope that their posterity here can become more elevated than themselves.

It is useless now to speculate upon the origin of their condition, or to speak of the policy of those restraints under which they must always live in the United States. They are imposed more or less in all of the States.

Society is natural, but its organization is artificial and adventitious. It has rarely in its beginning been favorable to equality of condition. Superiority of mind or of body, or larger possession of what makes property, have divided all communities at first into classes. The lower have served the higher for something to live upon, but as society advanced and labor became more oppressive, or was more wanted, all classes have been willing to lighten its burden, by the absoluteness of domestic servitude; if those could be found who could be coerced to bear it. War, want, crime, climate, peace and mistaken views of religion, have been the pretexts for reducing men into slavery. But pretexts as they are, when slavery has become habitual, and has been for a long time a part of the policy of any community, its safety may not permit the dissolution of the evil all at once. Rights grow up under such a system, which cannot with justice be suddenly taken away. All experience shows that every untimely interference with it, has produced neither good to the state, to the master, nor to the slave. When attempted by an external intervention, out of the sovereignty where it exists, it has always produced bloodshed, massacre and war. All that a nation can do, in which there is such a relation, is to deal with it kindly, in such a manner that the integrity of the state may be preserved. Its real duty is not to permit any other state or authority to interfere with it.

But, sir, slavery has never existed in ancient or modern times, nor anywhere, without the allowance of partial emancipation. This makes another class, larger in numbers, than the relations upon a superficial view of it, would seem to admit. In our own country, the number is one-eighth of the whole of our colored population. In the chapter of Roman civilization, its legislation for this class is one of the most curious and instructive in the history of man.—It was always difficult to deal with, but its result was, that the emancipated freedman, having lost the

guardianship of his owner, became the ward of the state. It gave to him protection but not citizenship, exemption from coerced labor, but only the right to labor in particular employments. The taint of servile blood, though the freedmen of Rome were white persons, followed their posterity to the third and fourth generations. Their children were called libertini, their grandchildren ingenies. Herace was of the latter class—and if the caprice of the aristocracy, or of the Emperor, admitted some of them at times to the highest social intercourse, the class were never permitted to enjoy its equality until there was no recollection of the servitude of their ancestors.

How much more hopeless is the state of the African freedman of the United States. They never can become here, in social life, more than they are. Living, as they do, wherever they may live in the United States, only by the toleration of the States, they can never have, wherever they may be, exemption from legislative constraint, or the benefit of those sanctions of municipal morality which might otherwise give to them purity as a class.

It was this view of the colored freedman of America which led to the formation of this Society. Its first object was to give them a home, where they would be unprejudiced by color. Africa could alone give that security. There, it was hoped and believed, that their moral and intellectual capacity could be developed to its fullest extent, whatever that may be. That they would rear for themselves a government of law and order, resting upon liberty and religion. That they would teach to others all they had learned here, and give to the land of their fathers the tone and the habits of christian civilization.

Experience has shown that the framers of this Society were right in their anticipations, as well as in their benevolence. Acting then upon the existing state of things, and leaving the future to that Providence which guides us in mercy, the object of this Society is to colonize the freed man of color. It never meant by its agency, to make any other change in the condition of the colored man of this country. It has adhered to its pledges, and to its particular mission. And we are here this evening to tell you what it has done, and to ask your co-operation to enable us to do more. Our motives for doing so are stronger than they were—our free people of color have increased, and are doing so every day. Their intelligence

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

is larger than it was thirty years since; and this society has provided for them a standing point in Africa, to which they may go, unapprehensive of want, disease, or savage repulse.

Every chance which we have to do good, is a gift from Providence. Let us avail ourselves of this in behalf of the free colored persons of our country. It is no longer so much a matter of choice, as it is of duty. All that is wanted is a corresponding sympathy. Information of what has been done and what can be done, may produce it. We hope for it and do not believe that the sympathy of the American people will be withheld from this cause. We are assured, that there is in the American heart a responsive feeling for every wrong and suffering of humanity. Touch it lightly and it will yield liberally. Approach it through the understanding, and if there shall be no outward gush of enthusiasm, there is a well-spring in it to quench the thirst of all who are wandering in the desert, until they shall reach the promised land. (Applause.) Our ignorance of what this Society has done would surprise me, if I had not to express what had been my own, until my attention was called to it by two of my friends. One of them, early and for a long time an agent of this Society in Africa—and again sent there as an agent of the Federal Government to report upon the condition of Liberia, (the Rev. R. R. Gurley)—The other my venerable friend now in our view, who enjoys the high respect and consideration of all of us, and whose virtues and integrity have placed him above the resentments and the touch of party—(Hon. Elshia Whittlessey.) (Applause.) The successful realities of Liberian Colonization are but little known by a large portion of our country. It is perhaps universally known, that this Society has been in operation for more than thirty years. It is also known, that thousands of our free people of color have been colonized in Africa—but their social and political condition are not generally understood. It is not as this day generally known that the Company has passed from a colonial dependency to a national Sovereignty. That it has been acknowledged as such by some of the largest powers in Europe. That it has made treaties with them, giving to this African Republic, the protection of all of those international usages and obligations, which regulate the intercourse of nations. Liberia, sir, including the Maryland set-

tlement at Cape Palmas—as you have just told us, has a sea coast of more than three hundred miles—with an average interior of more than forty miles. And there are voluntarily within its territorial jurisdiction subject to its control, more than two hundred thousand native Africans. Liberia has also treaties with other tribes further in the interior, founded upon our modern relations of civilization and commerce—We may reasonably suppose, when they have experienced their advantages, that other tribes and nations more remote, will seek for a like concession.

My friend, Mr. Gurley, says in his report to the Senate, that the relations of the Liberian government to these African tribes, are peaceful and friendly, and its authority over them salutary and beneficent. It has banished the slave trade from all of this district of Africa, settled the differences which separated them, and suppressed the wars which have for centuries spread misery and desolation among them. Some of their most barbarous superstitions have been interrupted, if they are not altogether eradicated. Liberia too has given them incentives to industry, supplied new motives for trade, and incites them to listen and become enriched with the blessings of civilization and christianity. I am not sure that my memory has done justice to the language of the report, but I am, that it has not been exaggerated. Liberia has also a political organization which cannot fail to excite the sympathies of the American people. Its constitution, as a State paper, is not inferior to that of any other people who have asserted their national sovereignty in the last century. Its statement of the causes which had induced them to assume such a position, are truthful and manly. It has all the forbearance of christian humanity, with the hopes and strength of christian confidence. And its final appeal “in the name of humanity and virtue, and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common creator and common judge; for the sympathy of the nations of christendom, to which the peculiarities of their condition entitle them”—brings at once this response from our hearts that God has made all the nations of the earth of one flesh. Their government too has been administered by themselves for more than six years with discretion, and with enlarged views of the obligations cast upon Liberia from its position—Now the ships of all nations are found in its harbors, receiving in return for the

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

goods which they have carried, African products which the arts and manufactures of modern times cannot do without. Nor must it be thought that Liberia has become what it is, without having encountered all those perils and sufferings which have uniformly marked the colonization of a savage coast. Turn your memories to the land where the war whoops and tomahawk of the Indian were met by the stern resolve of the first settlers of our own coast, and you have the renewal of the same savage wars in Liberia. Were it my privilege to speak to-night the eulogies of individuals, or of the triumphs of battles, enough could be told to excite your surprise and sympathy, for the unsurpassed christian devotion and heroism of the men, who suffered all and lost all, to establish this new Christian Republic.

Still with all the advantages of Liberia, and its entire fitness for all our free people of color, its resources are not sufficient for the support of its government; and for it at the same time, to act efficiently in maintaining her position in relation to much of Africa, nearest to it. If trade shall strengthen it, it will be remembered that the savage nations about them will receive from the same source every muniment of war. It needs a large population of the same cast, color and training with themselves to meet such an event, and to aid in opening the riches of her soil.— They can only be found here. She needs them also to aid in extending her christian influence, and to suppress the slave trade upon the coast, commensurate with her own. In such a cause, individuals may do much to aid this Society in sending to Liberia that portion of our free people of color who are willing to emigrate. But we should do more. It is our duty to get together, until we have aroused a public opinion—strong enough, to induce the legislative power of the Federal Government, to give its aid in colonizing our free people of color in Africa.

No combination is necessary in such a cause, but a sense of what is right, and what the interests of the United States require. We need no party interference or league, and should reject them; for the men of all parties in our country have the same impulses of humanity. But it is true that the human heart does not readily yield to its more generous propensities; and its indifference to all that does not immediately concern ourselves must be overcome by persuasion and kind remonstrance, before it will act to remove an ex-

isting evil or to redress a public wrong.— Revolutions move with a quick step—reformation with a slow foot.— Still, if there be a real cause of reformation, its march will be sure. So it has been in all cases, where the aid of Government has been asked for a good cause, not immediately connected with its political administration. In such instances, there must be co-operation to obtain it. A single person has often produced it. Nay, have not all the reformations of our own, and of other days, begun with some one individual, who perceiving that one was wanted, did not shrink from attempting its accomplishment. Infusing his own spirit into others, they became a part of himself, and afterwards moved as a mass, making a public opinion in favor of his cause, where there was none before.— Need I remind you that the first movement in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, was owing to the benevolent, bold and persevering efforts and remonstrances of Clarkson. Though his King and the avarice of a long established trade were against him, he subdued both unto humanity. Was not the heart of all Europe hardened against the sufferings of prisoners until the philanthropy of Howard softened it into commiseration. And do we not see in our own country hospitals and asylums for suffering humanity reared by Government, from the persuasive instigations of a female, who womanly as she is, is stronger in her purposes of benevolence than any one of us.— Miss Dix. (Applause.) I have said that the aid of the Federal Government must be sought. Fortunately it can be constitutionally given, and our national interests coincide with its power. But I pray you in advance, if in the discussion of this point, some things may be said which have the appearance of being political, not to suppose they are meant to be so. I am incapable of doing so at this time, and at this place.

The constitutional power of our Federal Government to aid in colonizing our free people of color, rests upon the connexion which the States of the Union have had with slavery before and since the Declaration of Independence. It began in our colonial condition: the importation of slaves into them from Africa, having been a part of the policy of the mother country. When the Revolutionary war began, slavery existed in every State, and slaves were considered and used by all of them as property. They descended by inheri-

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

ance as they do now where slavery continues; and were transferable at the will of their owners by purchase and sale, without any limitation as to the manner of sale. There was however this difference in the condition of the states. In some of them an early cessation of slavery was anticipated. In the larger number it was certain that it would continue for a longer time. This difference however had no influence upon the proceedings of the Congress of the colonies, but some feeling was excited, when it prohibited the importation of slaves. Not that under the circumstances, it was not thought proper, but it was considered by some of the delegates as having been prematurely done, with the intention to introduce it into the articles of confederation; which Congress designed to form as soon as the Declaration of Independence should be made. But every difference then yielded to the exigency of the times. All knew, that without the union of all the colonies, that independence could not be won. Our independence was declared and the articles of confederation were formed, without any clause relating to the powers of the States concerning slavery, but in the general admitting its existence in the States. In the mean time, between the acceptance of the articles of confederation and the acknowledgment of our Independence, Congress had acquired for the United States, by cession from the States, the northwestern territory. It had been resolved by Congress as early as seventeen hundred and eighty, that such relinquishments of lands by the States should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and should be formed into Republican States, to become States of the Union, with the rights of sovereignty. In a little more than three years after peace had been made, Congress passed an ordinance for the government of that territory. Then for the second time, the subject of slavery was brought into political discussion; but not with the angry feelings which have since been manifested. On the contrary, moderation, forbearance and a proper view of the existence of slavery, among us, gave the first great triumph to our national humanity. Two stipulations were made in that ordinance; the larger, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory. The lesser:—“Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any one of

the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.” This was the original of that clause in our present constitution to the same effect. In less than two years afterward, the convention was called to frame that constitution. Slavery became again the subject of discussion, and it was essential that some compromise should be made with the consent of all the States, before our Union, as it is, could be formed. What was it? It was the incorporation into the Constitution of the fugitive clause from the ordinance, with a still greater triumph of humanity, that the Congress of the United States should have the power within a given time to prohibit the African slave trade. This of course was a limitation upon the increase of slaves in the United States. The lesser provision was satisfactory to all, particularly to the States most interested in its execution. And there was one harmonious hymn of thankfulness throughout our country, that our nation had been the first among the nations of the earth to provide for the extinguishment of the greatest curse that man had ever inflicted upon his fellow man. Both of these clauses of the Constitution were meant to be grants of legislative power. They have always been acted upon as such.—At first and for more than thirty years always in harmony, or without producing excitement of any kind. In seventeen hundred and ninety-three—as soon after the legislative organization under the new Constitution had been enacted as it could be done, Congress acted upon the lesser clause concerning fugitives from labor. It comprehended the States and territories in the north west or south of the River Ohio also. In the next Congress, under the larger clause relating to the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States themselves shall think proper to admit; an act was passed prohibiting the slave trade from being carried on from the United States, to any foreign place or country—also prohibiting American ships from transporting slaves from foreign places, to other foreign ports. The ship was to be forfeited, and those concerned in giving a vessel such a destination were subjected to heavy pecuniary penalties. In eighteen hundred, a more efficient law was passed. It prohibited our citizens, and all other persons residing in the country who were not so, from holding any property in a vessel which was to be

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign port to another foreign port. Neither citizens, nor other persons residing in the United States, could be employed on board such vessels. They were made liable to capture by any commissioned vessel of the United States. Then in eighteen hundred and three, some of the States having by that time declared that slaves should not be brought into them, Congress passed an act to aid in enforcing the prohibition. Finally the act of eighteen hundred and seven was passed, prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States. Thus consummating those great purposes of humanity; which the Constitution was meant to accomplish and guard—all happening under those compromises in the Constitution relating to slavery; just as it was anticipated they would do, and as those who framed the Constitution, and as the people who ratified it, meant they should do. My narrative of the connexion of the Federal Government with slavery is not yet done. I will now show what its practice has been under that clause of the Constitution prohibiting the importation of slaves, from which we may gather its power and its obligation to aid in the removal of our free people of color from the United States.

Eight years after the date of the act, which put an end to the importation of slaves, we had passed through our second war with England. In the 10th Article of the treaty of peace, we find the slave trade denounced as irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and both nations contracting to use their efforts to promote its entire abolition. I do not know what other persons think about it; I do not know that I am right; but I have sometimes thought, with the glories of that war upon our national escutcheon, in proud companionship with those of the Revolution, that such a tribute to humanity was worth to both nations all the cost of the war. (Applause.) The United States, true to the obligation imposed by that treaty, passed an act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade; and another making it piracy for our citizens to be engaged in it. It is to the first of these two acts to which I wish to call your attention: Because it discloses how the powers to regulate commerce and to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States, have been exercised by Congress. It shows further that the

Federal Government has already colonized Africans in Africa, and that it may, if our commerce can be advanced by doing so, aid in the colonization of our free people of color. That act declares, that the armed vessels of the United States, may be employed to enforce the acts of Congress which prohibit the slave trade, and it authorises the President to make arrangements to remove beyond the limits of the United States all negroes and persons of color, who may be brought into the United States; and that he may appoint agents to reside in Africa to receive there such persons. And one hundred thousand dollars were appropriated to carry the law into effect. Under this act the President appointed agents for its purposes, sent laborers to prepare for the reception of such Africans as might be liberated from American slave ships; chartered a ship to carry them to Africa, on board of which the first colonists of the Society went, accompanied by a ship of war, commissioned for that purpose.—And under the act the government has done the same in other cases. England no less sincere, has kept her faith, at a cost which the finances of no other nation could have borne. No vulgar views of interest prompted the action of either nation. It was a great and positive illustration of the age, how christianity influenced the practices of nations as well as the consciences of individuals.—And if its purifying efficacy was not sufficient, when it put an end to white slavery in Europe, to prevent African slavery from succeeding it, it can only be accounted for from the fact, that but a short time before the mariner's compass "had opened the universe," and given to Europe a new continent for its enterprise.—All of us know, that the discovery of America corrupted at first the desires and the habits of Europe: and that in the eagerness of its natives to possess its mines and work its lands, that all of them compromised their consciences, by adopting the old Greek and Roman barbarism, that barbarians might be enslaved.

Contrast the condition of the world now, with what it was when England and the United States made their treaty to use their efforts to put down the slave trade. Then every maritime nation in Europe sanctioned and pursued it. Now it has been abandoned by all of them, under the influence and under the example of England and the United States. Both nations have kept the object constantly in view.

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

In our last treaty with England—familiarily known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty; both nations have stipulated to employ portions of their naval marine on the coast of Africa, to capture vessels unlawfully engaged in the slave trade; and further, they bind themselves to remonstrate against its continuance by any nation then permitting it. France has since made a like treaty with England. Indeed the United States has always readily met every direct proposal for the abolition of the slave trade. Our refusal to give a right of search of our ships upon the ocean for that purpose, stands upon different grounds. We did not do so, because we were unwilling that a strict right of war should be converted into a practice in peace. Because such a right in peace could not be given without its being unequal in its execution between the nations conceding it, as the larger nation would more frequently interrupt the commerce of the lesser; and because such a practice in peace would be likely to lead to war. Such has been the course of the Federal Government to suppress the slave trade, without its constitutionality having been questioned.

What shall be the next step in the march of our national humanity? It should be to adopt any additional means which give the strongest promise, to accomplish the hitherto unexecuted purpose. Let the nationality of Liberia be acknowledged. It does not imply unrestricted intercourse. That may be regulated by treaty, subordinately to the differing condition and interests of the States. It has been shown that the Federal Government has colonized slaves in Africa, under its power to regulate commerce, and its power to prevent importation of slaves. The statute under which it was done is still un repealed. It may then be done again. Its obligation implies that the ways and means for discharging it, may be any which the expediency of such an occasion may require. We may unite with Liberia as we have done with England to extinguish the slave trade. We may have an agent there for the extension of our commerce with Africa. Or we may purchase territory there and colonize it with the same view, and strengthen it by sending such of our free people of color as may be willing to emigrate; whether they have become so under the influences of this Society or otherwise. There is no indirection in the suggestions which have been made. All of them have the sanction of those men of the

early days of this Republic, to whom we still look as guides to direct us as to what the Constitution forbids or allows.

Mr. Jefferson, as early as eighteen hundred and one, expressed views upon this subject, from which I will repeat extracts in his own words. The House of Delegates of Virginia in 1800, requested its Governor, then Mr. Munroe, to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of the United States, whither persons obnoxious to the laws, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed.

Mr. Jefferson, then the President of the U. States, in his letter in reply to Mr. Munroe's communicating the resolution, approves the object of it, and says: "The plan of relegation may be executed with the aid of the Federal Executive." Mr. Munroe sent his letter to the General Assembly, but being doubtful as Mr. Jefferson was, what persons were contemplated by the resolution, he asks the Legislature to be more precise in that particular. His language is, "It remains therefore, for the General Assembly to explain more fully the description of persons who are to be transported." It answers, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which such free negroes and mulattoes, and such of them as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum; and that it was not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of the place. Thus matters stood, until 1804, when Mr. Jefferson resumed the subject of the resolution of 1800 and 1804. In a letter to Governor Page, he says, I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances has taken place which enables me yet to propose any specific Asylum for the persons who are the subjects of our correspondence. I beg you to be assured that having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion which may occur to give it effect—as Mr. Jefferson had stated in his letter that there were objections to the places to which his mind had been directed for the asylum; with a suggestion that it might be made in the remote parts of Louisiana. The General Assembly passed another resolution, instructing its Senators in Congress and requesting that its Representatives do exert their best efforts for

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of the territory of Louisiana, to be the residence of such people of color as have been, or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. Afterwards, in 1811, Mr. Jefferson received a letter from a private person asking him to give his opinion upon the practicability of establishing a colony on the western coast of Africa. In his answer he gives an account of his official action upon the resolves of the Virginia Legislature. He says that he had proposed Sierra Leone, and if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America, expressing it however as his opinion that Africa was preferable. He further states, that he had written to our Minister in London, Mr. King, "to endeavor to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company to receive such of these people as might be colonized *there*." Further, that the effort which he had made with Portugal to obtain an establishment from them, proved also abortive. And in reply to the question, whether he would use his endeavors to procure such an establishment, he says, "Certainly I shall be willing to do any thing I can to give it effect and safety," and again, "*that nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves, and take to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*" He adds, "exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all expenses." Mr. Munroe partook fully of the views of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Madison entertained the same opinion, and expressed himself in favor of the removal of our free people of color, as a question truly of a national character. I might cite the names of several of our distinguished men of that day, who expressed the same opinions and wishes. When this Society subsequently petitioned Congress for aid, the committee to which the subject was referred, reported that nothing was more desirable or worthy of the pecuniary resources of the country, than to provide for the removal of our free people of color. Several of the States have passed resolutions in favor of its being done by the United States. Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. I do not mistake the number, when I say that twelve of them have done so. Why then may it not be done, and be better done, through the agency of Liberia and of this Society

than any other way. The situation of the first, and of this Society, recommend them. Liberia has become what it is, from the efforts of this Society. It now rejoices, confidently believing the prospect to be cheering, that it has given to Africa, through the instrumentality of our free people of color, all the advantages of our entire civilization, with our christian belief and our christian life. Should the christian world view correctly, all that this Society has done, and what Liberia is, it will not fail to make it the chief point for its future missionary efforts for Africa. No one doubts the constitutional right of our National Government to colonize either a newly discovered country where such a discovery has been made by our own ships, commercial or military. Or that it may purchase territory for the same purpose.

It may do so by a direct purchase and transfer, under the form of treaty. It may be done under the war power, by treaty, in anticipation of what our national defences may suggest to be proper, or we may take territory as one of the incidents of successful war. It may do so, under the power to regulate commerce. And there is a great constitutional conservative obligation upon the National Government to remove a national evil, when it presses upon the general welfare of the United States, and when it can be done without interfering with the rights of private property, or with those institutions allowed by the states, and which were meant to be guarded by the constitution of the United States. That conservative obligation will be found in the first clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution. It is, "the Congress shall have power to lay, and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." In this I suggest no new or loose interpretation of the Constitution. I reject, myself, the employment of all means, which are not essential to the execution of a substantively granted power, in the Constitution. That no means shall be legislatively used to enforce a grant of power in the Constitution, which do not concur with the intent of the power and with the extent of the obligation which it imposes. And that such intent and extent may only be inferred by giving to the language of the grant, just that meaning which each word of it has in its common use and accepta-

Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

tion in the English language. Let me be not confounded with those who have resorted to the preamble of the Constitution, in which the same words, "provide for the common defence and general welfare," are found; to infer a legislative ability in Congress, out of the particular grants in the Constitution. The difference between those words in the preamble, and in the clause to which reference has been made, is this, that they are in the first a recital of the motives which induced the people of the States to ratify the Constitution—and in the clause, they recognized it as a grant of power for which national revenue might be raised and applied.—But there is to be found an analogous practice in the legislation of this Government, which has no other constitutional authority than such as have been mentioned, to shew how its powers may be used to colonize our free people of color in Africa. I mean the colonization of the Indian tribes. Have not those tribes from the beginning of the National Government been colonized? Except in the clause to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, and in that which apportion the representation of the States in Congress, the word Indian is not to be found in the Constitution. But as the Indian tribes, whether within, or beyond the territorial limits of the States, were considered by us, (as they have been by all the nations of Europe which colonized any part of the American continent) as independent nations, with a right of occupancy of their lands, but without the power to sell them, unless permitted to do so, by the sovereignty within whose territorial limits their lands were; they have been brought within the treaty-making power to get from them cessions of their lands, and when they were made; within that policy of the general welfare of the United States, which for our interest and their own, required that they should be removed at the cost of the United States. The Federal Government made a compact with the State of Georgia, to buy from the Indians in Georgia, their right of occupancy to their unceded lands in that State, with an obligation to remove them from the State, when the purchase could be made. It has been done. A treaty was made in 1828, with the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi, to colonize them at the cost of the United States, in another part of Arkansas, than where they were.—Eaton and Coffee's treaty with the Minnons and the warriors of the Choctaw

Nation, provided for the removal of them at the cost of the United States. General Cass afterwards made a treaty with the Creek Indians for the cession of all of their lands east of the Mississippi, with a stipulation that they would be removed to the west of it at the expense of the United States.

In the year 1834, Congress passed an act designating territory in the United States to which the Indians might be removed, declaring that it should always thereafter be deemed the Indian country. Several tribes are now there under the protection of this Government, with the promise that the humane policy of the Government will be illustrated by their civilization. If any one wishes to see that policy about to be further carried out, it will be found in the very interesting report of Mr. Manypenny, the present efficient Commissioner of the Indians affairs, accompanying the message of the President to this Congress.

If then the Congress of the United States has made appropriations of money to remove and colonize Indians and Africans, the Constitutional powers exerted for doing so, apply equally in favor of appropriations of money to aid in removing and colonizing our free people of color whenever Congress shall think it nationally expedient to make them. This must be so, unless the Government's power to colonize, is particular as to persons, and not general. If any one shall say so, to exclude the free man of African origin from the benefit of the powers, he interpolates into the Constitution an exception which is not there, and will exclude himself from that class, which has hitherto guarded that sacred instrument, by giving it a rational and limited interpretation in opposition to those whose tendency has been to give to it legislative ability in cases where the power has not been delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or when powers have been asserted by the Legislation of the United States, which were reserved to the States respectively or the people.

Mr. President:—My object in all that I have said concerning the power of the Federal Government, has been constitutionally to aid this Society in colonizing our free persons of color, and to present the claims of Liberia to the intelligent consideration of our legislators. A few more words at this late hour, and I shall be done.

The Colonization of our free persons



Address of the Hon. James M. Wayne.

of color is not a local interest. It is national, because they are in every State of this Union in a hopeless condition of inferiority, without any possibility that they can be made partakers of the political and civil institutions of the States, or of those of the United States. They number now more than four hundred and fifty thousand. A larger number than all of the Indians within our limits. Their numbers will increase, from emancipation beyond that of a natural production, though that will not be less than it has been. Such a caste, without civil privileges, implies discontent and hostility. Whether the last shall be so or not, it will be thought to be so, and the restraints upon them, will be multiplied. They have seen, sir, and are here enjoying their best day in the United States. The natural increase of our white population, the additions to it already by emigration from Europe and such as are surely to follow, even in larger numbers than have yet come, will drive them into the most degraded offices of civilized life if not from employment of every kind. The object of the Society is to place them out of the reach of such a result. Its designation is the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States. Its object, as it is expressed in its Constitution, is to colonize them with their consent, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, and to act in co-operation with the general Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject. The South and Southwestern States where slavery is a part of their domestic condition, are not more interested in this matter, than the rest of the Union, except as they may give larger numbers to be sent to Africa. The inconveniences and interferences of emancipated colored persons in them, they can control. But their philanthropy makes them wish to avoid the use of their power, and they look to this Society and to the Federal Government to aid them in making that philanthropy efficient.

The condition of the Southern States in

this matter, and in every other concerning them, in any event, is one of strength and not of weakness. Commanding as they do by their products a large portion of the world's industry and its interests, without any cause for apprehending that it will be less and with every reason for believing that it will be larger, they have as strong a bond of union between them as any which unites the same population in any part of the world. Let come what may, they have confidence in their future. They know that their coasts may be pillaged but that their interior cannot be successfully assailed. Abounding in every thing which in ordinary times can be enjoyed and sufficient for any exigency which may happen, they feel that they are secure.

But they do not wish to rely upon such considerations, and they do not indulge them, remembering the old times of their fathers, in every part of this land, and that God strengthened them together, to escape from a common tyranny. Their heart's wish is to enjoy the blessings given to our nation in patriotic fraternity. Prompted too by a holier sentiment, our common christianity and its influences upon their consciences and their practices, they think that a sufficient guaranty that their rule at home, will be regulated accordingly. Unaffected in their sensibilities by either the exaggerations of fiction or the assaults of fanaticism, they have neither resentments to express nor contempt to bestow. They are conservative too for this nation. The excesses of unchristian and revolutionary innovation, have no countenance there. If they cannot prevent them from being felt in other localities, they mean to prevent them from becoming national.

Standing upon the good sense and strong sympathies of the American people, they hope for a long course of national quietude and happiness, confidently trusting whatever may affect our general welfare, that it will be under the guardianship of our National Constitution.

From 1st January, 1853, to 1st January, 1854.

To Balances due the Society per last report...	\$29,983 33	By Balances due by the Society per last report.	\$23,283 43
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Contingent receipts.....	84 33	Liberia.—Donation to the Government,	
Profit and loss.....	1,872 75	salaries of Agents and Physicians, and	
Legacies.....	16,099 15	for improvements.....	8,495 08
African Repository.....	1,527 18	Contingent expenses.....	103 50
Emigrants.....	30,004 50	Profit and loss.....	985 95
Donations.....	32,870 84	Special Bequests, paid emigrants before	
		they sailed, &c.....	1,000 93
Total receipts including the above balances..	112,441 58	Expense of collecting subscriptions to the	
Balances due by the Society.....	15,869 80	African Repository.....	142 33
		Outfit, transportation, and support of emi-	
		grants.....	55,665 13
		Compensation of Agents, and other expen-	
		ses in collecting funds.....	6,370 62
		Salaries of the Secretary, Recording Sec-	
		retary and Clerk of the Am. Col. Soc.,	
		office rent, fuel, stationery, &c.....	4,961 50
		Total expenditures, including the above	
		balances.....	101,008 47
		Balances due the Society.....	27,302 91
	\$128,311 38		\$128,311 38

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, January 1st, 1854.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-keeper.*

The Auditing Committee have examined the Treasurer's Account for the past year, and compared it with the proper vouchers, and they find the same correct.

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY, }  
 JOHN R. DAVIDSON, } *Auditors.*

WASHINGTON, 18 January, 1854.